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خدا بخش لائبریری

جرنل

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خدا بخش اورینٹل پبلک لائبریری، پٹنہ

خدابخش لائبریری

جرنل

پٹنہ

۳۲

خدابخش اورینٹل پبلک لائبریری، پٹنہ

مرزا مظہر جانجاناں کی تاریخ شہادت لکھی ہے : "آہ کجائی مظہر" (۱۱۹۵ھ)۔ غلام علی آزاد کی تاریخ وفات ہے : "جنت از بہر بندہ آزاد است" (۱۲۰۳ھ)۔

تفصیل کلامِ فرحت

: (۱) کلیات فرحت ۔ اس کا قلمی نسخہ خدا بخش میں ہے (نمبر ۲۶۶۳) اس میں حسب ذیل کلام ہے (الف) قصاید ۱۲۱ ورق (اس میں قطعات تاریخ بھی ہیں) (ب) مثنوی گنج شایگاں عرف حاتم نامہ، دفتر اول ۔ یہ ایک طویل مثنوی، مثنوی معنوی کی بحر میں ہے اور اس میں حاتم طائی کا قصہ منظوم ہوا ہے ۔ سال تالیف ۱۱۸۸ھ ہے۔ اشعار کی تعداد ۵۷۵۳ بتائی ہے۔ تعداد اوراق ۳۵۔ (ج) غزلیات بطور حروف تہجی۔ تعداد اوراق ۲۱ ۔ یہ نسخہ ولایت علی خاں رئیس پٹنہ کے کتبخانہ میں تھا، پھر خورشید نواب کے کتبخانہ میں رہا۔ اب خدا بخش لائبریری میں ہے۔ ان تمام جگہوں کی مہریں موجود ہیں۔

(۲) **مثنوی گنج شایگاں** مذکور کا ایک اور نسخہ قلمی ذخیرہ شوق نیموی کا موجود ہے جس کی کتابت ۱۱۸۸ھ کی ہے اور اس میں شوق نیموی کا قطعۂ تاریخ کتابت موجود ہے۔ مگر اس میں جو تعداد اشعار مثنوی بتائی گئی ہے وہ ہے ۱۰۳۶۱۔ اس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ نسخہ کسی اور نسخے سے نقل کیا گیا ہے۔ یہ نسخہ چوہے کا ہے۔ اوراق کی تعداد ۳۵ ہے ۔ (خدا بخش نمبر ۳۳۲۶)

ابتدا میں شوق نیموی کے فرزند مولوی عبدالرشید کی تحریر ہے، جو "یادگار وطن" سے ماخوذ ہے اور اس میں فرحت کی مثنوی کے بارے میں اطلاع ہے ۔ حالات پر روشنی نہیں پڑتی ۔

(۳) **مثنوی گنج بادآورد** : یہ حاتم نامہ مذکور کا دوسرا دفتر ہے۔ اوراق کی تعداد ۱۲۲ ہے (خدا بخش نمبر ۳۳۲۷) یہ نسخہ بھی شوق نیموی کے کتبخانہ کا ہے ۔ یہ ۱۲۲۰ھ کا مکتوبہ ہے ۔ یہ تینوں نسخے اب تک غیر مطبوعہ ہیں اور بہ قرینہ غالب کہ ان کا کوئی اور نسخہ کہیں دستیاب نہیں۔

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ڈاکٹر محمد عتیق الرحمٰن
اسسٹنٹ لائبریرین خدا بخش لائبریری پٹنہ

حوالے کی کتابیں

اکتفاء القنوع بما ھو مطبوع

یہ عربی مطبوعات کے بارے میں ایک نہایت مفید اور معلوماتی کتاب ہے جو ۷۷۶ صفحات پر مشتمل ہے۔ اس کے مرتب ایڈورڈ فنڈیک ہیں جنھوں نے اپنے خرچ سے یہ کتاب ۱۸۹۶ء میں مطبع الہلال (قاہرہ) سے چھپوائی ہے۔

مرتب نے ۱۹ویں صدی عیسوی کے اواخر تک ایشیا اور یورپ کے مطابع سے عربی زبان میں جس قدر مشہور اور اہم کتابیں چھپ چکی تھیں ان سب کا مختصر تعارف، سال طباعت، مطبع، ان کے مصنفین و مؤلفین اور ان پر تحقیقی کام کرنے والے محققین کے حالات نہایت جامع انداز میں تحریر کر دیے ہیں۔ اس طرح تقریباً سوا دو ہزار سے زائد کتابوں کا احاطہ کیا گیا ہے۔

مرتب نے سب سے پہلے ایک مقدمہ لکھا ہے جس میں سب سے پہلے اسپین، جرمنی، فرانس، برطانیہ، اٹلی، ہالینڈ، ڈنمارک، ترکی، مصر، شام، ٹونس کے ۲۰ ایسے کتب خانوں کے نام گنوائے ہیں جہاں عربی زبان کی طبع شدہ یا قلمی کتابیں محفوظ ہیں اور پھر لکھا ہے کہ زیادہ تر غیر مطبوعہ کتابیں تھیں لیکن تقریباً چار سو سال سے یورپ کے مستشرقین تصحیح و اضافہ اور تراجم و شروح کے ساتھ ان کی طباعت کراتے ہیں۔ اسی بنا پر اب کافی کتابیں چھپ کر منظر عام پر آچکی ہیں۔

مرتب نے لکھا ہے کہ جن اہل علم کے لئے کشف الظنون (حاجی خلیفہ)، الفہرست (ابن ندیم)، فہرست کتابخانہ دساسی (DE SACY) اور فہرست مکتبہ مشرقیہ (BIBLIOTHICA ORIENTALIA) جیسی ضخیم اور معلوماتی کتابیں جمع کرنا ممکن نہ ہو تو صرف یہ کتاب (اکتفاء القنوع بما ھو مطبوع) حاصل کر لے تو یہ بلاشبہ ان تمام کتابوں سے مستغنی کر دے گی۔

مقدمہ کے بعد باب اوّل کے تحت مرتب نے "اعتناء الافرنج باللغۃ العربیۃ" کے عنوان سے ایک مستقل فصل قائم کی ہے اور اس ضمن میں یہ دکھایا ہے کہ عربی زبان جزیرہ عرب سے نکل کر یورپ کے ممالک میں کس طرح پہنچی۔ چنانچہ انھوں نے لکھا ہے کہ اہل یورپ نے ۱۶ویں صدی عیسوی سے عربی زبان سیکھنی شروع کی۔ ۱۷ویں صدی عیسوی میں عربی زبان کی نشر و اشاعت کے لئے روم میں ایک ادارہ قائم کیا جہاں عربی

زبان کے ساتھ سریانی زبان کی بھی تعلیم دی جاتی تھی۔ اس کے بعد رفتہ رفتہ عربی زبان کے ساتھ اہل یورپ کی دلچسپی بڑھتی گئی اور پھر نوبت یہاں تک پہنچی کہ انھوں نے قواعد و لغت عربی پر بے شمار کتابیں تصنیف کر ڈالیں۔ آخر میں ان کتابوں کی ایک فہرست بھی پیش کی گئی ہے۔

اس کے بعد مرتب نے مزید تین ابواب کے تحت مختلف فصلیں قائم کر کے مسلمانوں کے عہد بعہد علمی کارناموں پر روشنی ڈالی ہے۔ ہر عہد کے اہم مصنفین و مؤلفین کے حالات لکھے ہیں اور پھر ان کی طبع شدہ کتابوں کی نشاندہی کی ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ کون سا نسخہ کہاں ہے اور کس نے کس کتاب کو ایڈٹ کیا ہے، اور کب کیا ہے؟ ان تمام باتوں کی پوری طرح وضاحت کی ہے۔

اس طرح یہ کتاب نہ صرف طبع شدہ کتابوں کے لئے مرجع و ماخذ ہے، بلکہ اسلامیات کے طالب علم کے لئے ایک معلوماتی خزانہ بھی ہے۔ جس کے مطالعہ سے وہ تاریخ علوم اسلامی سے بخوبی واقف ہو سکتا ہے۔ اس کتاب میں تفسیر، حدیث، فقہ، اصول فقہ، شعر و ادب، تاریخ، جغرافیا، طب، فلسفہ، منطق اور سائنسی علوم و فنون پر مفید معلومات موجود ہیں۔

جناب سلیم الدین احمد
اسسٹنٹ لائبریرین
خدابخش لائبریری، پٹنہ

مُلّا علی القاری اور ان کی طبقات الحنفیہ

نورالدین علی بن سلطان محمد القاری الہروی، معروف بہ مُلّا علی القاری (م ۱۰۱۴ھ)[1] اپنے عہد کے ایک جید عالم اور معروف فقیہ تھے۔ علم فقہ کے علاوہ حدیث، تفسیر، کلام، منطق اور فلسفہ میں بھی آپ کو ید طولیٰ حاصل تھا۔ ادب، انشا اور نحو میں بھی دسترس رکھتے تھے۔ آپ کی تصانیف کی کوئی تعداد متعین نہیں کی جا سکتی۔ تاہم مشہور تصانیف کی تعداد ڈیڑھ سو تک پہنچتی ہے[2]۔ صاحب ہدیۃ العارفین نے آپ کی کل ۱۰۷ مشہور تصنیفات کا حوالہ دیا ہے۔ خدابخش لائبریری میں مخطوطات کی شکل میں آپ کی ۶۹ تصنیفات محفوظ ہیں، جن میں متعدد ایسے مخطوطات بھی ہیں، جو اب تک طبع نہیں ہو پائے ہیں۔ انھیں میں سے ایک طبقات الحنفیہ پر آپ کی تصنیف "الاثمار الجنیہ فی اسماء الحنفیہ" بھی[4]

آپ ہرات کے ایک گاؤں قارہ میں پیدا ہوئے[5]، قاری اسی گاؤں کی طرف نسبت ہے۔ سال ولادت نامعلوم ہے۔ ابتدائی تعلیم ہرات ہی میں حاصل کی، پھر مکہ تشریف لے گئے اور مستقل طور پر وہیں

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[1] ہدیۃ العارفین جلد ۱، ص ص ۷۵۱ - ۷۵۲، عقد الجواہر ص ۲۶۴، تاج الطبقات (مخطوطہ مخزونہ خدابخش لائبریری) جلد ۱۱، ص ۵۹، الفوائد البہیہ ص ۱۰، خلاصۃ الاثر جلد ۳، ص ص ۱۸۵ - ۱۸۶، حدائق الحنفیہ (مرتبہ خورشید احمد خاں، لاہور) ص ص ۴۲۱ - ۴۲۲، التاج المکلل ص ۳۹۸۔ لیکن صاحب کشف الظنون نے تاریخ وفات ۱۰۱۶ھ بتلائی ہے، جلد ۴ ص ۷۰، اور یہی اتحاف النبلاء کے مصنف کا خیال ہے (ص ۵۹ اور ۷۱، صفحہ ۱۲ پر سن وفات ۱۰۴۴ھ لکھا ہے، جو ظاہر ہے کتابت کی غلطی ہے)

[2] خدابخش لائبریری میں محفوظ ایک مخطوطہ نمبر ۲۵۲۶ کے ورق ۶۰ الف پر مُلّا علی قاری کے بارے میں ایک مختصر سوانحی نوٹ درج ہے، جو کسی نامعلوم شخص کا لکھا ہوا ہے، جس میں آپ کی چند تصانیف کا بھی تذکرہ ہے۔ اور آخر میں لکھا ہے کہ "سمع من حفیدہ فی المکۃ المکرمۃ قال لجدہ نا ثلاثمائۃ مؤلفات وانہ تقف لاولادہ وشرطان لا یمنع من الاستنساخ والیوم النوبۃ عندی لا امنع ممن طلب"

مقیم ہو گئے، مکہ میں شہاب الدین ابن حجر الہیثمی (م ۹۷۳ھ)، شیخ قطب الدین محمود بن محمد الحنفی المکی (م ۹۹۰ھ)، شیخ علی متقی (م ۹۷۵ھ)، ابو الحسن البکری (م ۹۹۳ھ)، اور شیخ عبداللہ السندی (م ۹۹۶ھ) جیسے علماء وقت سے تفسیر، حدیث، فقہ، اور دیگر علوم متداولہ کا درس لیا۔

ایک فقیہ اور ایک متبحر عالم کی حیثیت سے آپ کی شہرت اس قدر بڑھی کہ آپ اپنے عہد کے "امام سمجھے جانے لگے" اور آپ کی تصنیفات نے آپ کو "دسویں صدی کے مجدد ہونے کے درجہ تک پہنچا دیا"[1]۔ کہا جاتا ہے کہ آپ ہر سال ایک طرز قرأت پر قرآن کی کتابت کرتے تھے اور اس کے عوض جو آمدنی حاصل ہوتی تھی، اسی سے سال بھر گزارہ کرتے[2]۔ آپ کی وفات شوال ۱۰۱۴ھ میں مکہ میں ہوئی۔ آپ کی شہرت اور مقبولیت کا اندازہ اس بات سے لگایا جا سکتا ہے کہ جب آپ کی وفات کی خبر پھیلی، تو جامع ازہر میں آپ کی غائبانہ نماز جنازہ ادا کی گئی جس میں چار ہزار علما نے شرکت کی[3]۔

آپ کی تصنیفات پر تبصرہ کرتے ہوئے نواب صدیق حسن خاں لکھتے ہیں کہ:

"از تصانیف او قریب چہل رسالہ بخط وی در فقہ و حدیث نزد فقیر ست و شرح فقہ اکبر و حزب اعظم اشہر مؤلفات اوست و ہمہ توالیفش مقبول است و در اہل علم متداول، پس نمودن نور علم بران یعنی چہ بلکہ در فقہای حنفیہ کم کسی مثل او منصف مزاج، تحقیق طبع درین دور برخاستہ ... از ہر کتاب او رتبہ تحقیق نمایاں است، و دستگاہ او دران علم عیان و اعتراض او برارسال مالک و اصحاب شافعی در بعض مسائل نہ از راہ عصبیت و ہواست، بلکہ بر وضوح ادلہ بر خلاف آن و این قسم اختلاف در جمیع احناف علما قدیما و حدیثا موجود داشت، مخصوص بوی نیست[4]"

علامہ فرنگی محلی نے آپ کی تصنیفات کے بارے میں لکھا ہے: "کلہا نفیسہ فی بابہا فریدۃ[5]"۔ اور صاحب خلاصۃ الاثر لکھتے ہیں: "... لاشتہرت مؤلفاتہ بجہت ملأت الدنیا لکثرۃ فائدتہا وحسن انسجامہا[6]"

مخطوطات کی شکل میں خدا بخش لائبریری میں محفوظ آپ کی ۶۹ تصنیفات میں سے

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[1] التعلیقات السنیہ ص ۱۰ [2] الاعلام جلد ۵ ص ۱۶۷ [3] تاج الطبقات جلد ۱۱، ص ۵۹، معجم المطبوعات ص ۱۷۹۱ - ۱۷۹۴ [4] اتحاف النبلا، ص ۳۲۵ - ۳۲۶

[5] الفوائد البہیۃ ص ۱۰ [6] خلاصۃ الاثر جلد ۳، ص ۱۸۶

۱۴ طبع ہوچکی ہیں[۱] بقیہ ۵۵ مخطوطات کے اب تک طبع ہونے کی کوئی اطلاع نہیں ملی۔[۲] ۵۵ مخطوطات میں سے ۲۵ مخطوطات دو دو چار چار اوراق

۱- وہ مخطوطات جو طبع ہوچکے ہیں :- (۱) شرح فقہ اکبر (۲) الاربعین (۳) الحرز الثمین شرح الحصن الحصین (۴) الحزب الاعظم والورد الافخم (۵) اللمعۃ المضیئۃ فی زیارۃ المصطفویۃ الرضیۃ۔ (۶) شرح عین العلم (۷) شرح الشفا (۸) ضوء المعالی شرح قصیدہ بدء الامالی (۹) الجین المعین لفہم الاربعین (۱۰) مرقاۃ المفاتیح (چار جلدوں میں) (۱۱) المسلک المتقسط فی المنسک المتوسط (۱۲) المنح الفکریۃ فی شرح المقدمۃ الجزریۃ (۱۳) الذخیرۃ الکثیرہ فی رجال معرفۃ الکبیرۃ (۱۴) الموضوعات الهنیۃ السنیات فی تبیین احادیث الموضوعات)۔

۲- وہ مخطوطات جو طبع نہ ہوسکے :- (۱) فیض الفائض فی شرح الروض الرائض ۳۷ ورق (۲) الاثمار الجنیہ فی اسماء الحنفیہ ۱۷۷ ورق (۳) شرح مغنی اللبیب ۱۵۷ ورق (۴) الادب فی رجب ۵ ورق (۵) الاستدعا فی الاستسقاء ۵ ورق (۶) الاعتنا بالغناء ۸ ورق (۷) اعراب القاری علی اول باب صحیح البخاری ۵ ورق (۸) بدایۃ المسالک فی نہایۃ المسالک شرح مختصر فی المناسک ۲۹ ورق (۹) البینات فی تباین بعض الآیات ۶ ورق (۱۰) تبعید العلماء عن تقریب الامراء ۲۸ ورق (۱۱) تزئین العبارۃ فی تحقیق العبارۃ ——— (۱۲) تزئین العبارۃ فی تحسین الاشارۃ ۶ ورق (۱۳) التصریح فی شرح التسریح ۶ ورق (۱۴) حاشیہ علی حرز الامانی ۱۰ ورق (۱۵) حزب البحر ۵ ورق (۱۶) ذیل مرتبۃ الوجود فی نیل مسالۃ الشہود ۹ ورق (۱۷) الرسالۃ المتعلقۃ بالحجر الاسود ۵ ورق (۱۸) الرسالۃ فی الحدیث (۱۹) صلات الجوائز فی صلاۃ الجنائز ۸ ورق (۲۰) طرفۃ العمیان فی تحفۃ العیان ۷ ورق (۲۱) فصول المہمۃ فی حصول المتمۃ ۹ ورق (۲۲) لسان الاقتدا فی بیان الاقتدا ۸ ورق (۲۳) المورد الروی فی مولد النبوی ۲۰ ورق (۲۴) کشف الحذر عن امر الخضر ۱۱ ورق (۲۵) المعدن العدنی فی فضائل اویس القرنی ۵ ورق (۲۶) المقالۃ العذبۃ فی العمامۃ والعذبہ ۸ ورق (۲۷) المصنوع فی معرفۃ الموضوع ۵۰ ورق (۲۸) النزہیۃ الزہیۃ فی احکام الحمام الشرعیہ (۲۹) تشییع فقہاء الحنفیۃ لتشنیع سفہاء الشافعیۃ ۱۹ ورق (۳۰) الاسرار المرفوعۃ فی الاخبار الموضوعۃ فی الحدیث ۱۸ ورق۔

پر مشتمل مختصر رسالے ہیں[1]۔

آپ کی مشہور تصنیف الآثار الجنیہ فی اسماء الحنفیہ، جس کا یہاں ایک مختصر تعارف مقصود ہے، تقریباً ساڑھے سات سو حنفی فقہا کا ایک مختصر مگر جامع تذکرہ ہے، جو اب تک طبع نہیں ہو سکا ہے۔ اس کتاب کا ایک نسخہ نیشنل لائبریری (کلکتہ) کے بوہار کلکشن میں بھی محفوظ ہے۔

طبقات فقہا پر دو زاویوں سے کتابیں تالیف کی گئیں۔ کچھ کتابیں عام فقہ سے متعلق ہیں، خواہ وہ کسی بھی فقہی مکتبِ فکر سے تعلق رکھتی ہوں، جبکہ دوسری قسم ایک متعین فقہی مسلک کے فقہا کے طبقات پر ہے۔ اول الذکر میں ایسی تالیفات شامل ہیں جو مشہور فقہی مسالک کے ائمہ کے قریبی عہد میں مدون کی گئیں اور ان کے ناموں سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ وہ کسی متعین فقہی مسلک کے فقہا پر نہیں تھیں۔ ان میں ابو عبدالرحمٰن الهیثم بن عدی الثعالبی (م ۲۰۷ھ) کی طبقات الفقہاء والمحدثین اور عبدالملک بن حبیب السلمی (م ۲۳۸ھ) کی طبقات الفقہاء و

۱۔ مختصر رسالے: (۳۱) استیناس الناس لفضائل ابن عباس ۲ ورق (۳۲) الاخبار بان النعمان سنن الاخیار ۱ ورق (۳۳) ایصال (اختصار) السالک الی ارسال مالک ۲ ورق (۳۴) البرۃ فی حب الھرۃ ۳ ورق (۳۵) بیان فعل الخیر اذا دخل مکۃ من حج عن الغیر ۳ ورق (۳۶) تحقیق الاقتصاب فی تدقیق الانساب ۳ ورق (۳۷) التجرید فی اعراب کلمۃ التوحید ۴ ورق (۳۸) الحظ الاوفر فی الحج الاکبر ۲ ورق (۳۹) الرسالۃ العطائیہ ۲ ورق (۴۰) رسالہ فی حق وضع الید فی الطواف (۴۱) رسالۃ الاصطناع فی الاضطباع ۲ ورق (۴۲) رسالہ فی اولادہ وازواجہ صلعم ۲ ورق (۴۳) رسالہ فی النکاح ۱ ورق (۴۴) رسالہ فی بیان حکم افراد الصلاۃ عن السلام ۲ ورق (۴۵) رفع الجناح وخفض الجناح باربعین حدیثا ۳ ورق (۴۶) السلالۃ فی ذم الروافض من اہل الضلالۃ ۲ ورق (۴۷) الصنعۃ فی تحقیق البقعۃ المنیعۃ ۲ ورق (۴۸) الفضل المعول فی الصف الاول ۳ ورق (۴۹) المقدمۃ السالمۃ فی خوف الخاتمۃ ۴ ورق (۵۰) معرفۃ النساک فی معرفۃ المسواک ۲ ورق (۵۱) المسالۃ فی البسملۃ ۲ ورق (۵۲) النصیحۃ المرتبۃ فی المعرفۃ والمحبۃ ۴ ورق (۵۳) تطہیر الطویۃ فی تحسین النیۃ (۵۴) رسالہ فی اعراب حدیث البراء ۱ ورق (۵۵) تذییل رسالۃ تشییع فقہاء الحنفیہ ۲ ورق۔

التابعین کے نام بطور خاص قابل ذکر ہیں۔ ان کے علاوہ محمد بن خالد (م ۲۲۰ھ) کی طبقات الفقہاء، ابواسحاق ابراہیم بن علی الشیرازی (م ۴۷۶ھ) کی فرق العلماء، اور ابو محمد عبدالوہاب بن محمد الشیرازی (م ۵۰۰ھ) کی تاریخ الفقہاء اس زمرے میں آتی ہیں۔ مؤخر الذکر تالیفات میں شافعی، حنبلی، مالکی اور حنفی مسلک کے فقہاء کے طبقات پر الگ الگ کتابیں لکھی گئیں۔ چنانچہ شافعی طبقات پر سب سے پہلے امام ابو حفص عمر بن علی المطوعی المحدث الادیب (م ...) نے قلم اٹھایا۔[1] پھر متعدد کتابیں لکھی گئیں، جن میں سے سہل بن محمد بن سلیمان الصعلوکی (م ۴۰۴ھ) کی "المذہب فی ذکر شیوخ المذاہب" اور تاج الدین علی بن انجب الساعی البغدادی الشافعی (م ۶۷۴ھ) کی طبقات الشافعیہ (سات جلدوں میں)، کافی شہرت کی حامل ہیں۔ حنبلی طبقات پر قاضی ابوالحسین محمد بن محمد ابن الحسین ابی یعلی الحنبلی الشہید (۵۲۶ھ) کی المجرد فی مناقب الامام احمد اور مالکی طبقات پر ابن فرحون (برہان الدین ابراہیم بن علی بن محمد المدنی (م ۷۹۹ھ) کی الدیباج المذہب فی علماء المذہب قابل ذکر ہیں۔ حنفی طبقات پر بھی متعدد کتابیں لکھی گئیں، جن میں شیخ عبدالقادر القرشی (م ۷۷۵ھ) کی الجواہر المضیہ فی طبقات الحنفیہ، حسین بن علی بن محمد بن جعفر الصیمری (۴۳۶ھ) کی طبقات الحنفیہ، مجد الدین ابوطاہر فیروز آبادی (م ۸۱۷ھ) کی المرقاۃ الوفیہ، نجم الدین ابراہیم بن علی الطرسوسی (م ۷۵۸ھ) کی ذیات الاعیان فی مذہب النعمان اور تقی الدین بن عبدالقادر الغزی (م ۱۰۰۵ھ) کی الطبقات السنیہ فی تراجم الحنفیہ بے مثال شہرت کی حامل ہیں۔ ڈاکٹر عبدالرشید نے اپنے مقالہ "طبقات الحنفیہ ومؤلفوھا"[2] میں حنفی طبقات پر لکھی گئی کتابوں کا تفصیلی جائزہ لیا ہے۔

ملا علی قاری کی اس کتاب میں جیسا کہ نام سے ہی ظاہر ہے، صرف ان منتخب اور اہم فقہاء کا تذکرہ ہے جو فقہ حنفی میں ستون کی حیثیت رکھتے ہیں۔ کتاب کا ایک چوتھائی حصہ امام ابوحنیفہ کے مناقب کے لئے مخصوص کیا گیا ہے، جو اس کتاب کی دوسری اہم خصوصیت ہے۔ اس کتاب کے دیباچہ میں لکھتے ہیں کہ: "انی لما وفقنی الله سبحانه بلطفه الخفی وتوفیقه الوفی علی کتابة سند الانام شرح مسند الامام، احببت ان اذکر بعض مناقبه واشهر نبذة مع مراتبه تنبیها للجاهلین بمقامه والغافلین عن دقائق مرامه واذیله بذکر اصحابه العلیا المشاهیر من طبقات الحنفیة ومالهم من اللطائف الخفیة والعوارف

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[1] کشف الظنون ص ۱۱۰۰ [2] خدابخش لائبریری جرنل شمارہ ۱

الجلية والمعارف السنية رجاء ان اخان بفوايد اخلاقهم وان ترزق من موايد ارزاقهم فعند ذكر الصالحين تنزل الرحمة وبركاتهم تحصل النعمة وتزول النقمة"

یہ کتاب دراصل شیخ عبد القادر القرشی الحنفی کی مشہور تصنیف "الجواہر المضیئۃ فی طبقات الحنفیہ" کا ایک خلاصہ ہے۔ خود ملا علی قاری نے اس کتاب کے ص ۸۹ (ورق نہیں) پر اس بات کی وضاحت اس طرح کردی ہے: "وله الجواهر المضيه فى طبقات الحنفيه ومنها اختصرت هذه القطعة الجنية واللمعة الرضية"۔

کتاب خط نسخ میں ۱۷۷ اوراق پر مشتمل ہے جس کی کتابت عبد الرحیم بن صالح نے کی ہے۔ سن کتابت ۱۰۷۶ھ درج ہے۔ کتابت میں صحت کا خیال نہیں رکھا گیا ہے۔ کثرت سے غلطیاں ہیں۔ آغاز کے ۴۹ اوراق میں امام ابو حنیفہ کے مناقب درج ہیں۔ اس کے بعد حنفی فقہا کا تذکرہ شروع ہوتا ہے جن میں ۶۸۰ فقہا کے حالات جمع کئے گئے ہیں۔ جن کی ترتیب حروف تہجی کے اعتبار سے کی گئی ہے۔ ورق ۱۵۲ سے باب الکنی شروع ہوتا ہے جس میں ان فقہا کا تذکرہ ہے جو اپنی کنیتوں سے مشہور ہیں۔ انکی ترتیب بھی حروف تہجی کے اعتبار سے ہے۔ اس باب کے تحت تقریباً ۶۰ فقہا کے حالات درج ہیں۔ اس کے بعد "کتاب النساء" کے تحت ۵ فقیہ عورتوں کا تذکرہ ہے۔ پھر "کتاب الانساب" ہے جس میں تقریباً ۱۲۰ انساب پر روشنی ڈالی گئی ہے۔ اس کے بعد "کتاب الجامع" ہے جو ورق ۱۶۲ سے شروع ہوتا ہے۔ اس باب کے تحت مختلف قسم کے فوائد بیان کئے گئے ہیں جیسا کہ لکھتے ہیں: "وهذا عادة علماء المدينة فى ضم تصانيفهم بالجامع لفوائد جمة ونفائس مهمة نسأل الله حسن الخاتمة"

کتاب کا اختتام ایک فصل پر ہوتا ہے جس میں علی بن الحسن الخزرجی الیمنی الشافعی (م ۸۱۲ھ) کی "طراز اعلام الزمان فی طبقات اعیان الیمن" سے حنفی علما کو منتخب کرکے ان کے حالات درج کئے گئے ہیں جیسا کہ وضاحت کی ہے کہ: "هذه اسماء علماء الحنفية من الفضلة اليمنية ملتقط من طبقات العلامة على بن الحسن الخزرجي اليمنى الشافعى" (ورق ۱۷۵)۔

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جناب محمد عارف
ریسرچ فیلو خدا بخش لائبریری

"دستور الاعلام" اور اس کا مؤلف : ایک جائزہ

خدا بخش لائبریری، پٹنہ میں ابن عزم کی تالیف "دستور الاعلام بمعارف الاعلام" کا ایک نسخہ ہے۔ ۱۱۲۳ھ میں محمد بن عبداللطیف نے اس کی کتابت کی۔ مخطوطہ ۱۵۸ اوراق پر مشتمل ہے اور ہر صفحہ ۲۹ سطور پر محیط ہے۔ موضوع کے اعتبار سے یہ ایک تذکرہ ہے جس میں امت مسلمہ کے مشاہیر کے حالات اختصار کے ساتھ اور اشاریہ جمع کر دیئے گئے ہیں۔ تاکہ جو لوگ مفصل معلومات حاصل کرنا چاہیں وہ اس اشاریے کی مدد سے بہ آسانی اپنا منشا پورا کر سکیں۔ گویا یہ مشاہیر امت کی ایک ڈائرکٹری (DIRECTORY) ہے۔ سطور ذیل میں ہم اس نسخہ کا کسی قدر تفصیل سے جائزہ لیں گے۔ لیکن اس سے قبل مؤلف کتاب کا تعارف پیش کرنا مناسب ہوگا، جو نسخہ زیر بحث کی تفہیم میں معاون بھی ہوگا۔

"دستور الاعلام" ابن عزم کی تالیف ہے —— ابن عزم کے متعلق کتب تاریخ اور دیگر تذکروں میں بہت کم معلومات ملتی ہیں۔ السخاوی نے البتہ اپنی مشہور تالیف الضوء اللامع میں نسبتاً طویل تعارف نامہ لکھا ہے۔ شاید اس لئے کہ السخاوی ابن عزم کے ہم عصر تھے اور ہم محلہ بھی۔ چنانچہ ان کے پیش کردہ تعارف کے مطابق ابن عزم کا پورا نام محمد بن عمر بن احمد بن عزم شمس الدین تھا اور ابو عبداللہ کنیت۔ معجم المؤلفین (ج ۱۱، ص ۶) اور الاعلام (الزرکلی) وغیرہ میں بھی یہی نام ملتا ہے۔ لیکن بروکلمان نے ان کا نام جمال الدین بھی دیا ہے۔ "دستور الاعلام" کے پیش نظر نسخہ میں بھی جمال الدین ہی لکھا ہے۔ ملاحظہ ہو:

"کتاب دستور الاعلام بمعارف الاعلام جمع الشیخ الامام المحدث المؤرخ جمال الدین محمد بن عزم المغربی التونسی نزیل مکۃ المشرفۃ ....." (ق نمبر ۲)

لیکن چند سطور کے بعد الضوء اللامع کے حوالے سے شمس الدین محمد بن عمر بن محمد بن احمد بن عزم بھی درج ہے۔ نسخہ خدا بخش کے علاوہ نسخہ احقاف، حضرموت میں بھی جمال الدین ہی ملتا ہے۔

ابن عزم ۸۱۶ھ میں تیونس میں پیدا ہوئے، وہیں پرورش پائی اور ابتدائی تعلیم حاصل کی۔ سب سے پہلے

رواج عام کے مطابق قرآن حفظ کیا۔ پھر دیگر علوم کی کتابیں رائیہ، اجرومیہ، ارجوزۃ الولدان معروف بہ قرطبیہ اور منظوم الشاطبیہ وغیرہ پڑھیں۔ ان میں سے کچھ کتابیں ٹیونس میں ہی ابو القاسم بن کنانی سے پڑھیں اور بعض کتب کے لئے دیگر علماء، وقت کی طرف رجوع کیا۔ اس مقصد کے لئے باربار مختلف ممالک کا سفر کیا۔ اسکندریہ گئے، قاہرہ گئے، مکہ پہنچے، مدینہ آئے، شام کا سفر کیا اور دیگر کئی شہروں میں جاکر جید علماء سے استفادہ کیا۔ اسکندریہ میں عمر البسلقونی کو سنا، مدینے میں جمال کازرونی کی مجلس میں شریک ہوئے۔ جدہ میں موفق الابی سے فیض اٹھایا۔ مکہ میں ابو الفتح المراغی سے سماعت کی اور النجم بن فہد سے استفادہ کیا۔ اس دوران کتب فروشی اور جلد سازی بھی کرتے رہے۔ یہی ان کا ذریعہ معاش تھا۔

ابن عزم زندگی بھر حصول علم کے لئے سرگرداں رہے۔ کافی مشقتیں برداشت کیں، مصائب جھیلے، اس کا انھیں فائدہ بھی ملا، لیکن اس کثرت علم کے ان پر منفی اثرات بھی مرتب ہوئے اور ذہن میں معلومات یوں خلط ملط ہوگئیں کہ قوت فیصلہ ہی زائل سی ہو کر رہ گئی۔ زندگی میں ایک ایسا انقلاب آیا کہ وہ بڑی تیزی سے ابن عربی کے نظریات سے متاثر ہوئے، تلاش کر کر کے ان کی تصانیف کا مطالعہ کیا اور بالآخر ان کے متبع بن گئے۔ کچھ خیرخواہوں نے سمجھایا، باز رکھنے کی کوشش کی، لیکن یہ سودا سر سے نہیں گیا۔ عمر کے آخری حصے میں کافی کمزوری آگئی تھی، سہارے کے محتاج ہو کر رہ گئے تھے، اس لئے عصا استعمال کرنے لگے تھے۔ اکثر زمانہ اور اہل زمانہ کی شکایت اور ملامت بھی کرتے تھے۔ اسی عالم میں جمعہ کی شب، ۹ ربیع الآخر ۸۹۱ھ کو انتقال ہوا۔ دو کتابیں ان کی یادگار ہیں۔ ایک تو یہی "دستور الاعلام بمعارف الاعلام"، دوسری "المنهل العذب فی شرح اسماء الرب"۔ شاعری کا بھی ذوق تھا۔ مندرجہ ذیل اشعار انھوں نے النجم بن فہد کے لئے کہے تھے۔

یا ابن فہد یا عمر　　جادک الفتح ودر
انما الناس نجوم　　بینهم انت قمر

ان دو اشعار کی نسبت بھی ان کی طرف کی جاتی ہے:

دینی وفقری وهم عائلتی　　دعت بذاک لعل ترحمهم
حاشا یخیبون ان دعوک وهم　　ثلاثة لا ترد دعوتهم

— (الضوء اللامع الجلد الثامن، ص ۲۵۶)

دستور الاعلام کا مطالعہ کرتے وقت سب سے پہلے مندرجہ ذیل جملوں پر ہماری نظر پڑتی ہے :

"ھذا الکتاب تالیف ابراھیم الجینینی الحق فیہ بدستور الاعلام بمعارف الاعلام ما زادہ نفسہ علیہ وما زادہ القطب المکی ومحمد البعروی وابن حمزۃ واشار الی الزیادات بحروف ھی ھذہ ہ، ق، ز، ھب"

(دستور الاعلام نسخہ خدا بخش ورق نمبر ۱)

(۲) عبارت سے یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ دستور الاعلام کا پیش نظر نسخہ اصل نسخہ نہیں ہے۔ اصل سے مراد یہ ہے کہ یہ اس ترتیب کے مطابق نہیں ہے جو ابن عزم نے دستور الاعلام کے لئے روا رکھی تھی۔ بلکہ یہ ابراھیم الجینینی کا ترتیب دیا ہوا دوسرا نسخہ ہے جس میں خود انھوں نے کچھ اضافے کیے اور اپنے سے قبل کے لوگوں قطب الدین محمد مکی، زین الدین محمد بعروی اور ابن حمزہ کے اضافوں کو بھی ترتیب میں شامل رکھا ہے۔ یہ اضافے 'ہ'، 'ق'، 'ز' اور 'ھب' کی علامتوں کے ذریعہ ظاہر کیے گئے ہیں۔ القطب المکی کے اضافوں کے سامنے حاشیۂ کتاب میں 'ق' لکھ دیا گیا ہے۔ خود ابراھیم جینینی کے اضافے 'ہ' لکھ کر ظاہر کیے گئے ہیں۔ محمد البعروی کے اضافوں کے لئے 'ز' بطور علامت استعمال کی گئی ہے۔ اور ابن حمزہ کے (۶) اضافوں کے سامنے 'ھب' مندرج ہے۔

دستور الاعلام میں جن مشاہیر کے مختصر حالات یکجا کئے گئے ہیں، ان کی تعداد تقریباً ۳۶۰۰ نفوس تک پہنچتی ہے۔ ان ۳۶ سو افراد میں تقریباً ۲۸۶۰ سوانح خود ابن عزم نے اکٹھا کر کے مرتب کیے ہیں اور بقیہ ۷۳۹ افراد کی سوانح ابراھیم الجینینی، القطب مکی، محمد البعروی اور ابن حمزہ کی اضافہ کردہ ہیں۔ ان میں ۶۲۰ سوانح کا ابراھیم الجینینی نے اضافہ کیا ہے۔ ۷۰ سو سوانحات القطب المکی کا اضافہ ہیں۔ ۴۴ سوانح زین الدین محمد البعروی نے بڑھائی ہیں۔ اور ۸ افراد کی سوانح کا ابن حمزہ نے اضافہ کیا ہے۔ یہ اعداد و شمار اگرچہ احتیاط کے ساتھ متعین کیے گئے ہیں۔ پھر بھی ان کی مکمل صحت کا فیصلہ نہیں کیا جا سکتا۔ اس لئے کہ دستور الاعلام کے ایک درمیانی ورق کا نصف حصہ غائب ہے۔ نہ جانے اس پر پردہ جانب کتنی سوانح مندرج رہی ہوں گی۔ دوسرے یہ کہ دستور الاعلام کے اکثر حاشی جلد بندی کی زد میں آ گئے ہیں اور بیشتر جگہوں پر اضافوں سے متعلق جو وضاحتیں لکھی گئی ہیں وہ بھی اس کا شکار ہوئی ہیں۔ اس لئے قطعیت کے ساتھ یہ کہنا کہ مندرجہ بالا اعداد و شمار صحیح ہیں، دشوار ہے۔ البتہ ہم نے یہ کوشش کی ہے کہ یہ تعداد صحت سے قریب ہے۔

ابن عزم کا انتقال ۸۹۱ھ میں ہو گیا تھا، لیکن پیش نظر نسخہ میں بارھویں صدی ہجری تک کے مشاہیر کی

سوانح بھی ہیں (ملاحظہ ہو ابن الملا الحصکفی ۱۰۰۰ھ ق ۱۰۴ (۱) العلاء عمر بن محمد ۱۰۱۰ھ ق ۱۰۰ (۱) محمد البلودی ۱۰۱۰ھ ق (۲) وغیرہ)۔ ظاہر ہے کہ دسویں، گیارہویں اور بارہویں صدی سے جو لوگ تعلق رکھتے ہیں، ان کی سوانح ان ہی اشخاص ثلاثہ کی اضافہ کردہ ہیں۔ لیکن اس کا یہ مطلب نہیں ہے کہ ان تینوں حضرات نے اپنی کاوشوں کو دسویں، گیارہویں اور بارہویں صدیوں تک ہی محدود رکھا ہے۔ بلکہ پچھلی صدیوں میں جو مشاہیر کسی سبب سے ابن عزم کے دائرۂ علم میں نہیں آسکے تھے۔ ان لوگوں نے ان کا بھی احاطہ کیا ہے۔ اس لحاظ سے یہ نسخہ اصل نسخے سے زیادہ وقیع اور اہم ہوگیا ہے۔

تیسرے ورق سے اصل عبارت کا آغاز ہوتا ہے۔ ابتدا میں تمہیدی کلمات ہیں۔ ان کلمات کو دو حصوں میں تقسیم کیا جا سکتا ہے۔ پہلا حصہ تو وہ ہے جس کے ذریعہ ابن عزم نے "دستور الاعلام" کی نوعیت، غرض و غایت، اہمیت اور اپنے طریق کار کی تفصیلات بیان کرتے ہوئے اس راہ میں پیش آمدہ مشکلات کا ذکر کیا ہے۔ ابن عزم کے بقول انھوں نے یہ کتاب اپنے لئے اور اُن لوگوں کے لئے تالیف کی ہے جو امت مسلمہ کے مشاہیر ارباب تصانیف، شعرا، فلاسفہ، حکما اور خلفا وغیرہ کے متعلق معلومات حاصل کرنے کے خواہش مند ہوں۔ مؤلف نے ایسے مشاہیر کی سوانح اختصار کے ساتھ مرتب کر دی ہیں تاکہ ان اشاروں کی بنیاد پر تاریخ کی مفصل اور سنین کے اعتبار سے مرتب کی ہوئی کتابوں سے ان کے متعلق معلومات کے حصول میں دشواری نہ ہو۔ اکثر ایسا ہوتا ہے کہ شخص مطلوب کا نام، سال رحلت، آباء و اجداد کے نام اور دلچسپیوں کا علم نہ ہونے کی بنا پر ضرورت مندوں کو پریشانی کا سامنا کرنا پڑتا ہے۔ مؤلف نے یہ تذکرہ ان ہی امور کو پیش نظر رکھ کر مرتب کیا ہے اور اسی لئے اس کو "دستور الاعلام بمعارف الاعلام" کا نام دیا ہے:

فطلب به يا طالب هذه المعرفة من هو منتهها المستفيد منه ترجمة كاملة مكافية مختصرة في سطر واحد تحتوي على اسم ذالك المطلوب واسم ابيه واسم جده والسنة التي مات فيها والمقام الذي [illegible] وبلده ومحله او العلم او المعرفة والشهرة بما [illegible] ـــــــــ او انه صاحب التصانيف [illegible] وسن [illegible] او [illegible] الدنيا او [illegible] الآفاق الى غير ذالك مما يناسب [illegible]. فان [illegible] بذالك والا تستفيد منه المدخل الى التواريخ الكبار

المطولة ولهذا اسميته بدستور الاعلام بمعارف الاعلام" (ق نمبر ۳)

یہ عبارت کسی قدر طویل ضرور ہے۔ لیکن اس اعتبار سے کافی اہم ہے کہ اس سے نہ صرف کتاب کی وجہ تسمیہ پر روشنی پڑتی ہے بلکہ یہ مقصد تالیف کی بھی وضاحت کرتی ہے۔ ابن عزم کی تحریر کے مطابق ہر ایک فرد کی سوانح ایک ہی سطر تک محدود ہے۔ معجم المؤلفین کے مرتب نے تین سطور کا تذکرہ کیا ہے۔ لیکن حقیقت یہ ہے کہ عمومیت کے اعتبار سے تو یہ باتیں صحیح ہیں اور ابن عزم نے اس طریق پر کاربند رہنے کی کوشش کی ہے۔ لیکن خصوصی حیثیت میں وہ اس سے صرف نظر کرنے پر بھی مجبور ہوئے ہیں۔ "دستور الاعلام" میں پچاسوں لوگوں کی سوانح ایسی مل جاتی ہیں، جو ایک دو تین سطروں سے متجاوز ہو کر زائد سطور تک پہنچ گئی ہیں۔ امام ابوحنیفہ رح (۱۳ سطور) الابیاری (۱۸ سطور)، الحصنی (۹ سطور) سید حمزہ (۸ سطور) اور الحلاج (۶ سطور) جیسے مشاہیر کی سوانح، اسی ذیل میں آتی ہیں۔

تمہیدی کلمات کا دوسرا حصہ وہ ہے، جو "یقول الفقیر ابراهیم"[11] سے شروع ہوتا ہے۔ یہ ابراہیم الجینینی کی عبارت معلوم ہوتی ہے اور اصل کتاب پر کئے گئے اضافوں کی توضیحات پر مشتمل ہے، جن کا ہم پہلے ہی ذکر کر آئے ہیں۔

دستور الاعلام کو مؤلف نے حروف تہجی کی مناسبت سے مرتب کیا ہے اور ہر حرف کی پانچ اعتبار سے تقسیم کی ہے[12]۔ پہلی قسم ان لوگوں کے بارے میں ہے جن کو ان کے ناموں سے شہرت ملی۔ جیسے ابراہیم بن مہدی (ق ۴)، بشر بن الحارث (ق ۱۷)، تمیم بن المعز (ق ۲۷)، ثابت بن قرۃ (ق ۲۹)، جابر بن حیان (ق ۲۹)، حسان بن ثابت (ق ۳۴)، اور خارجہ بن زید (ق ۴۱) وغیرہ۔

دوسری قسم میں وہ لوگ شامل ہیں جو اپنی کنیتوں سے مشہور ہوئے۔ جیسے ابو ایوب انصاری (ق ۵)، ابو طلال (ق ۸)، ابو تمام (ق ۲۷)، ابو ثور (ق ۲۹)، ابو الجولین (ق ۳۰)، ابو حنیفہ (ق ۳۵)، ابوخیثمہ (ق ۳۶) وغیرہ

تیسری قسم ایسے حضرات پر مشتمل ہے، جو القاب و انساب یا کسی دیگر سبب سے شہرت کے حقدار پائے، جیسے الاخشید الفرغانی (ق ۷)، البغوی (ق ۲۱)، الترمذی (ق ۲۸)، الثعالبی (ق ۲۹)، الجاحظ (ق ۳۰)، الحجاج (ق ۳۷)، اور الجندی (ق ۴۲) وغیرہ۔

چوتھی قسم میں ان لوگوں کا احاطہ کیا گیا ہے، جن کی شہرت کی ضامن ان کی ابنیت (ابن) بنی جیسے: ابن الاعرابی (ق ۱۵)، ابن بشکوال (ق ۲۵)، ابن تومرت (ق ۲۸)، ابن ثوابہ (ق ۲۱)، ابن جزلہ (ق ۳۲)

ابن حزم (ق ۴۰) اور ابن خلدون (ق ۴۶) وغیرہ۔

پانچویں اور آخری قسم ان مشاہیر کے سلسلے میں ہے جن کی صاحبیت (کسی شئے یا مقام کی طرف نسبت) پر ان کی شہرت کے مینار کھڑے ہوئے ہیں جیسے: صاحب الانوار، نور الدین بن فرج (ق ۱۷)، صاحب البیان یحیٰ بن اسعد (ق ۲۶)، صاحب التحصیل سراج الدین (ق ۲۸)، صاحب الجرد یہ محمد بن محمد (ق ۳۳)، صاحب حیاۃ الحیوان کمال الدین (ق ۴۱)، صاحب خلاصۃ الفتوی طاہر بن احمد وغیرہ۔

ان مثالوں سے یہ ظاہر ہے کہ مرتب نے پانچوں اقسام کی ترتیب میں حروف تہجی کو مد نظر رکھا ہے۔ چنانچہ سب سے پہلے الف سے شروع ہونے والے اسماء مع مختصر سوانح لکھے گئے ہیں۔ پھر الف سے شروع ہونے والے اسماء کی کنیات سوانح کے ساتھ مندرج ہیں۔ پھر الف ہی سے شروع ہونے والے القاب و انساب کی سوانح مندرج ہیں۔ اس کے بعد الف سے شروع ہونے والے ابناء کی سوانح دی گئی ہیں اور آخری قسم کے تحت ان اصحاب کی فہرست سوانح کے ساتھ تحریر ہے جن کی تصانیف اور اسباب شہرت کے نام الف سے شروع ہوتے ہیں۔ اس طرح ہر حرف کے مطابق مشاہیر کے حالات مہیا کرتے ہوئے یہ کتاب اختتام کو پہنچی ہے۔ ذیل میں اسماء، کنیات، انساب والقاب، ابناء اور اصحاب سے متعلق مثالیں پیش کی جا رہی ہیں تاکہ مؤلف کا طریق کار پوری طرح سمجھ میں آسکے۔

(الف)

اسم: "ابراہیم بن المہدی (۲۲۴ھ) محمد بن المنصور ابی جعفر عبد اللہ بن محمد بن علی ابو اسحٰق العباسی الاسود الثین وکان فصیحاً ادیباً شاعر محسناً" (ق نمبر ۴)

کنیت: "ابو ایوب الانصاری (۵۵ھ) الصحابی المشہور خالد بن زید بن کلیب توفی بدار القسطنطینۃ وکان فی غزوھا مع یزید بن معاویۃ وکان رضی اللہ عنہ ملازما للغزو" (ق نمبر ۵)

لقب: - "الاخطل (۱۰۰ھ) النصرانی التغلبی شاعر بنی امیۃ وصاحب الدیوان المشہور غیاث بن غوث بن الصلت" (ق نمبر ۶)

ابن: - "ابن آدم (۲۰۳) الکوفی الفقیہ المقری الحافظ صاحب التصانیف ابو زکریا یحیٰ بن آدم بن سلیمان" (ق نمبر ۱۴)

صاحب: - "صاحب کتاب الاغانی (۳۵۶) ھو الاصبھانی مؤلف کتاب الاغانی وغیرہ ابو الفرج علی بن الحسن بن محمد" (دستور الاعلام ورق نمبر ۱۷)

مندرجہ بالا امثلہ جیسا کہ ظاہر ہے حرف الف سے متعلق ہیں اور ایک خاص ترتیب کے ساتھ ہیں چنانچہ دستور الاعلام میں "الف تا ی" اسی ترتیب کے ساتھ مشاہیر کی سوانحات مرتب کی گئی ہیں۔ کچھ مزید متفرق مثالیں ملاحظہ ہوں۔

اسمائے مشاہیر:- انس بن مالک ۹۳ھ، ربعی بن فراش ۱۰۱ھ، سہل بن عبداللہ ۲۸۳ھ، رویم بن احمد ۳۰۳ھ، عبدالوہاب ۴۲۲ھ، الفتح بن خاقان ۵۲۵ھ، یاقوت الرومی ۶۲۶ھ، خلیل بن اسحٰق ۷۶۷ھ، شاہرخ ۸۵۰ھ، الشیخ داؤد ۹۸۹ھ۔

مندرجہ بالا اسماء پہلی صدی ہجری سے دسویں صدی ہجری تک محیط ہیں۔ ہر نام کے ساتھ متعلقہ سوانح نقل کرنا طوالت کا باعث ہوگا۔ اس لئے بس ایک نام منتخب کرکے اس کی سوانح یہاں لکھ رہے ہیں۔ اسماء کے علاوہ بقیہ اقسام (کنیات، القاب، ابنیات، اور اصحابیت) کے ساتھ بھی یہی طریقہ اپنایا جائے گا:

"یاقوت الرومی" ۶۲۶ھ الحموی ابی ادی العلامۃ الادیب، شہاب الدین، مؤلف معجم البلدان وغیرہ (ق نمبر ۱۵۵)

کنیات مشاہیر:- ابو ایوب انصاری ۵۵ھ، ابوحنیفہ ۱۵۰ھ، ابوالعتاہیہ ۲۱۱ھ، ابومسلم خراسانی ۲۷۵ھ، ابو الہیثم ۳۰۶ھ، ابوالفضل ۴۳۵ھ، ابوشامہ ۶۶۵ھ، ابوالعباس ۸۱۹ھ، ابوہریرہ

"ابوشامۃ (۶۶۵ھ)، المقدسی ثم الدمشقی الشافعی المقری النحوی المؤرخ صاحب التصانیف المجتہد الحافظ العلامۃ الثقۃ ذوالفنون والتصانیف منہا شرح الشاطبیۃ وغیرہا، شہاب الدین ابوالقاسم عبدالرحمٰن بن اسمٰعیل بن ابراہیم" (ق نمبر ۱۰)

انساب والقاب:- خنسا ۲۳ھ، الاخطل ۱۰۰ھ، البخاری ۲۵۶ھ، الفارابی ۳۳۹ھ، البیہقی ۴۵۸ھ، الغزالی ۵۰۵ھ، جاحظ ۲۵۵ھ، الزرکشی ۷۹۴ھ، الجامی ۸۹۸ھ، المؤرخ ۹۲۷ھ

"الفارابی (۳۳۹ھ) الفیلسوف الترکی الحکیم المشہور صاحب التصانیف فی فنون الریاضیات من ابتغی الہدیٰ فیہا اضل اللہ ابونصر محمد بن محمد بن طرخان کان ذکی الذکاء" (ق نمبر ۱۰۲)

ابناء:- ابن سعد ۲۳۱ھ، ابن ابی ربیعہ ۹۳ھ، ابن المبارک ۱۸۱ھ، ابن ماجہ ۲۷۲ھ، ابن الناسخ ۳۶۵ھ، ابن رشد ۵۹۵ھ، ابن رشیق ۴۵۶ھ، ابن جماعہ ۷۳۲ھ، ابن الہمام ۸۱۵ھ، ابن نجیم ۹۷۰ھ۔

"ابن رشیق ۴۵۶ھ، القیروانی صاحب العمدۃ فی صناعۃ الشعر وغیرہا ابوعلی الحسن بن رشیق احد الافاضل البلغاء، ابوہ مملوک رومی من موالی الازد" (ق نمبر ۵۵)

اصحاب:- صاحب کتاب الاستبداد ۳۰۶ھ، صاحب منہاج البیان ۴۷۳ھ، صاحب الہدایہ ۵۹۳ھ، صاحب المشارق ۶۵۰ھ، صاحب الزبدہ ۷۳۸ھ۔

مدالنوی ۵۴۲ھ، الفقیہ الشافعی احد الاذکیاء، واساطین المذہب القاضی شمس الدین محمد بن ابی بکر بن ابراہیم کان عفیفا ورعاء" (ق نمبر ۱۴۹)

خدابخش لائبریری کے علاوہ دیگر کئی کتبخانوں میں اس تالیف کے نسخے موجود ہیں۔ دستور الاعلام کا ایک نسخہ پاکستان میں بھی موجود ہے۔ اس کے بارے میں ہمیں صرف اتنی اطلاع ہے کہ وہاں اس کی تدوین کا کام ہو رہا ہے اور اس کی اشاعت کا پروگرام بھی زیر غور ہے۔ اگر واقعی ایسا ہوا تو یہ ایک اچھا کام ہوگا۔ دوسرا نسخہ[13] مکتبۃ الاحقاف حضرموت (یمن) کی ملکیت ہے۔ اس پر مؤلف کا نام جمال الدین محمد بن عزم المغربی التونسی دیا گیا ہے۔ قطب الدین محمد بن احمد مکی اور ابراہیم الجنینی کے اضافات بھی ہیں۔ اوراق کی تعداد ۱۹۷ ہے اور ۱۰۹۱ھ میں خود ابراہیم الجنینی نے اس کی کتابت کی ہے۔

حواشی و حوالہ جات

۱؎ دستور الاعلام، نسخہ خدابخش ورق نمبر ۸، ۱۵، ۱۷، ۳۵ بروکلمان جلد ۲ ص ۱۷۳
۲؎ دستور الاعلام ورق نمبر ۱ ۳؎ الضوء اللامع المجلد الثامن ص ۲۵۵ ۴؎ " " "
۵؎ ان کا پورا نام ابراہیم بن سلیمان بن محمد بن عبد العزیز ہے۔ الجنینی الدمشقی نسبتیں ہیں۔ یہ حنفی المسلک تھے اور مشہور عالم اور ادیب تھے۔ خیر الدین الرملی کے شاگرد تھے۔ انھوں نے ابن عزم کی تالیف دستور الاعلام کی تکمیل کی۔ اس کے علاوہ کچھ اور تاریخی رسائل بھی تالیف کیے۔ ۱۰۴۰ھ میں پیدا ہوئے تھے اور ۱۱۰۰ھ میں انتقال ہوا۔ (معجم المؤلفین ج اول، ص ۳۶)
۶؎ قطب الدین محمد بن احمد المکی النہروانی متوفی ۹۹۰ھ
۷؎ ان کا پورا نام زین الدین بن احمد بن محمد بن احمد بن محمد بن ابراہیم بن ادریس الکردی ہے۔ فقہ شافعی کے پیرو تھے اور فتوے بھی دیا کرتے تھے۔ بلاد روم میں ۱۰۰۲ھ میں ان کی وفات ہوئی۔ انھوں نے بھی دستور الاعلام پر اضافے کیے تھے۔ (دستور الاعلام، ورق ۲)
۸؎ کوشش کے باوجود ابن حمزہ سے متعلق تعارفی معلومات حاصل نہ ہو سکیں۔ صاحب معجم المؤلفین نے اس اسمیت کے تحت کئی اشخاص کا تعارف کرایا ہے، لیکن ایسا کوئی قرینہ نہیں مل سکا جس سے یہ اندازہ کیا جا سکتا کہ ان میں سے دستور الاعلام پر اضافہ کرنے والے ابن حمزہ کون سے ہیں۔
۹؎ دستور الاعلام نسخہ خدابخش ورق نمبر ۲ ۱۰؎ ایضاً ورق نمبر ۳ ۱۱؎ ایضاً ورق نمبر ۲
۱۳؎ مجلۃ معہد المخطوطات العربیۃ الجزء الثانی ۱۳۸۳ھ ص ۱۰۴

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جناب وہاج الدین علوی
خدابخش فیلو پٹنہ

مولوی عبدالحق کا ماخذ

دستور اردو زبان

اس مختصر مضمون میں موضوع بحث وہ کتاب ہے، جس کی بنیاد پر مولوی عبدالحق نے اپنی قواعد اردو تحریر کی ہے۔ خدابخش لائبریری میں عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری کی تصنیف کردہ قواعد "دستور اردو زبان" کا ایک قلمی نسخہ موجود ہے اس مخطوطہ کا نمبر شمار ۱۲۷ ہے۔ یہ رسالہ فیروزی رنگ کے دبیز کاغذ پر ۱۶ سطری تحریر ہے۔ اس کا سائز ۱۶×۲۱ سینٹی میٹر ہے۔ عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری[1] اپنے عہد کی جامع العلوم شخصیت تھے۔ ان کی زبان دانی اور نکتہ سنجی ضرب المثل تھی۔ علوم وفنون میں وہ اپنے عہد کے مانے ہوئے ادیب تھے۔ دیگر ادبی اور علمی کارناموں کی طرح لسانیات کے میدان میں بھی انھوں نے

۱۔ عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری مضافات گورکھپور کے رہنے والے تھے۔ ان کے والد کا نام صاحب علی تھا۔ خاندانی پیشہ کپڑے بننا تھا۔ عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری کی پیدائش گیارھویں صدی ہجری کے اواخر میں یا بارھویں صدی ہجری کے اوائل میں ہوئی تھی۔ تحصیل علم کا بچپن سے بڑا شوق تھا۔ اسی شوق نے گھر سے فرار ہونے پر مجبور کیا۔ اولاً گورکھپور سے لکھنؤ پہنچے۔ یہاں تحصیل علم کے بعد دہلی کی طرف روانہ ہوئے۔ دہلی میں ان دنوں حضرت عبدالعزیز محدث دہلویؒ کا مدرسہ ہندوستان کے مدارس کا نمونہ بنا ہوا تھا۔ چنانچہ محدث دہلوی کے مدرسہ سے عبدالرحیم نے علوم شرعیہ، فلسفہ، منطق اور عربی و فارسی میں مہارت حاصل کی۔ شاہ عبدالعزیز محدث دہلوی فرماتے تھے کہ عبدالرحیم کی ذہانت کے پیچھے مجھے دہریت کی جھلک نظر آتی ہے۔ علوم مشرقیہ سے فارغ ہوکر عبدالرحیم کلکتہ پہنچے، جو ان دنوں عروس البلاد بنا ہوا تھا۔ یہاں انھوں نے انگریزوں سے انگریزی، لاطینی اور دیگر علوم سیکھے۔ ان کے متعلق مشہور ہے کہ وہ دس بارہ زبانیں اہل زبان کی طرح بولتے اور سمجھتے تھے۔ کلکتہ میں ان کی دہریت کا چرچا ہوا اور ان کے نام کے ساتھ دہری کا اضافہ ہوگیا۔ اور اب وہ صرف عبدالرحیم نہیں بلکہ عبدالرحیم دہری کے نام سے مشہور ہوگئے۔ اکثر اپنی تصنیفات میں انھوں نے اپنا نام "عبدد" تحریر کیا ہے۔ عبدالرحیم نے تاریخ، سائنس، ریاضی اور فلسفہ و ادب پر ضخیم کتابیں تحریر کی ہیں۔ چند مشہور کتابوں کے نام یہ ہیں: کارنامۂ حیدری، شگرف بیان، الانوار المشرقیہ فی الاسرار المنطقیہ، علم ریاضی اور سائنس پر پانچ جلدیں۔ اور انسائیکلو پیڈیا برٹانیکا کا ترجمہ ان کتابوں میں شامل ہے۔ عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری کا انتقال دوشنبہ کے دن ۲۹ دسمبر ۱۸۵۰ء مطابق جمادی الاول ۱۲۶۷ھ کو کلکتہ میں ہوا اور اپنے مکان میں دفن ہوئے۔ ماخذ: شگرف بیان مخطوطہ ایشیاٹک سوسائٹی۔ کلکتہ کے قدیم اردو مطابع اور ان کی مطبوعات۔ نزہۃ الخواطر جلد ۷۔ کرزن کنیٹنگ۔ آزادی کی کہانی۔ اخبار بہار، اجنوری ۱۹۵۷ء

طبع آزمائی کی۔ چنانچہ رسالہ کی غرض و غایت پر ان الفاظ میں روشنی ڈالی ہے:

> "اگرچہ قریب سو برس سے اس زبان میں رسم شاعری کی جاری ہوئی ہے۔ چونکہ اکثر یہ زبان جاہلوں کے استعمال میں رہی ہے، ہنوز اس میں وہ تہذیب اور درستی اور افزائش دلچسپی کہ چاہیے پیدا نہ ہوئی اور صرف و نحو اس کی اب تک ضبط و ربط کے ساتھ لکھی نہ گئی۔ اسی جہت اگرچہ اس ملک کے لوگ اس زبان میں دو چار شعر حسب دلخواہ کہہ سکتے ہیں، پر نثر لکھنا کچھ نہیں جانتے اور جو کوئی دو چار سطریں لکھتے ہیں تو طرز اسلوب پارسی ترکیبوں سے اس قدر بھر دیتے ہیں کہ پڑھنے والوں کو اس سے نفرت ہوتی ہے۔ کیونکہ وہ بیت المال عبارت نہ پارسی ہے نہ ہندی۔ تھوڑے دنوں سے بدولت حضرات برطانیہ کے نثر نویسی کی رسم اس زبان میں پیدا ہوئی۔ افسوس بڑے تعجب اور شگفت کا مقام ہے کہ ہماری زبان و قواعد وغیرہ کو بیگانے سکھلادیں جن کو چاہیے تھا کہ ہم سے سیکھتے۔"

اس اقتباس کی روشنی میں رسالہ کے زمانۂ تصنیف کا تعین کیا جا سکتا ہے۔ اگرچہ مخطوطہ میں سنہ تصنیف اور ترقیمہ کی عبارت نہیں ہے۔ لیکن اندرونی شواہد کی بنا پر اس کی قدامت کا اندازہ لگایا جا سکتا ہے۔ مصنف کا دعویٰ ہے کہ اس زبان کی صرف و نحو ربط و ضبط سے نہیں لکھی گئی۔ اس بات سے اندازہ ہوتا ہے کہ مصنف نے اس طرف سب سے پہلے توجہ کی۔ لیکن گلکرسٹ کی گرامر (۱۸۰۹ء) اور انشاء اللہ خاں کی دریائے لطافت (۱۸۰۸ء) اس عہد میں تصنیف کی جا چکی تھیں۔ عبدالرحیم ایسے دانشمند سے یہ امر بعید از قیاس ہے کہ انھوں نے ان کا مطالعہ نہ کیا ہو۔ ایسی صورت میں دو باتوں کی طرف دھیان جاتا ہے۔ اوّل یہ ہے کہ عبدالرحیم نے اپنی قواعد ان دونوں سے پہلے لکھی، دوسرے یہ کہ دریائے لطافت اور گلکرسٹ کی گرامر کو مصنف نے "ضبط و ربط" کے دائرے سے خارج کر دیا ہے۔ دوسری جگہ اسی عبارت میں تحریر کرتے ہیں "تھوڑے دنوں سے بدولت حضرات برطانیہ نثر نویسی کی رسم اس زبان میں پیدا ہوئی" اس جملہ سے پتہ چلتا ہے کہ فورٹ ولیم کالج کی تصانیف وجود میں آ چکی تھیں۔ ان شواہد کی بنا پر اندازاً اس رسالہ کا زمانۂ تصنیف ۱۸۰۵ء سے ۱۸۱۰ء کے بیچ ہو سکتا ہے۔ چونکہ اس مخطوطہ پر کوئی سنہ درج نہیں ہے اس لئے حتمی طور پر یہ فیصلہ نہیں کیا جا سکتا کہ اس کا سنہ تصنیف کیا ہے۔ لیکن یہ قطعی کہا جا سکتا ہے کہ قواعد کی چند قدیم کتابوں میں اس رسالہ کا مقام منفرد اور ممتاز ہے۔ گلکرسٹ اور انشاء اللہ خاں کی قواعد کا مطالعہ کرنے کے بعد یہ بات بڑے وثوق کے ساتھ کہی جا سکتی ہے کہ گورکھ پوری نے جس سائنسی تکنیک اور ژرف نگاہی سے صرف و نحو کی تشریح کی ہے وہ ان حضرات کے یہاں مفقود ہے۔ اس رسالہ کے ذریعہ اردو میں پہلی بار

لسانیات کے اصول وضع کرنے کی بھرپور کوشش کی گئی ہے۔ عبدالرحیم نے حروف کو اصوات کے لحاظ سے مصوتوں اور مصمتوں میں بانٹا ہے اور ان کے ذیلی اقسام کیے ہیں۔ تمہید اور اختتامیہ کے ابواب کو چھوڑ کر اس رسالہ میں کل آٹھ ابواب ہیں۔

ابتدائی باب میں اردو کی مختصر تاریخ، حروف، اصوات اور لسانیات کے بعض اصولوں پر روشنی ڈالی گئی ہے۔ لائق مصنف نے اردو حروف تہجی میں چودہ اصوات کو شامل کیا ہے اور اس طرح ان کے نزدیک اردو میں ۵۱ حروف تہجی ہیں۔ اردو کی ہائیہ وازوں کو سب سے پہلے عبدالرحیم نے ہی حروف کی شکل میں قبول کیا ہے۔ بہت بعد میں ۱۹۲۵ء میں ایشس چندر سین نے یہی خیال پیش کیا۔ عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری نے مصوتوں کو مدہ اور مصمتوں کو حرف صحیح کا نام دیا ہے۔ انھوں نے مصوتوں کو تین حصوں میں تقسیم کیا ہے۔ اس طرح زبر کو تاہ "الف" زیر کوتاہ "ے" اور پیش کوتاہ "واؤ" ہے۔ مدہ میانہ ہ، ی، و کو ہائے سکتہ یا الف میانہ، واؤ کو واؤ معروف یا میانہ اور 'ی' کو یائے معروف یا میانہ کہتے ہیں۔ ان تین مدہ دراز کو بنام الف دراز و یائے دراز اور واؤ کو مجہول یا دراز کے نام سے تحریر کیا ہے۔ یہی نہیں کہ صرف ان کی درجہ بندی پر اکتفا کیا ہو، بلکہ انتہائی باریک بینی اور نکتہ سنجی سے ان کے استعمال کو بھی واضح کیا ہے۔ چنانچہ ہائے خفی کے محل استعمال پر روشنی ڈالتے ہوئے لکھتے ہیں:

"یہ (ہ) حرف علت ہے جسے ہائے خفی اور ہائے سکتہ بھی کہتے ہیں۔ اردو میں کئی تلفظ رکھتا ہے کبھی اس کو آواز الف کی دیتے ہیں۔ چنانچہ مصرع رفیع سودا: بندہ ہے کئی کا ور پرستار کسی کا۔ اور کبھی آواز زبر کی جیسے:- جہاں دار کس لالہ رو پر موا = جگر میں جیہیں داغ کالے ترے

اور بر سبیل ندرت آواز زیر کی چنانچہ اس بیت میں:

اگر آنسو بھر آئے پی گئے ہم ÷ کہ تہ نظر آبرو تھی کسی کی

موجودہ علم لسانیات کی رو سے ی (Y) اور واؤ (V) اکثر نیم مصوتوں کا کام کرتے ہیں۔ ان نیم مصوتوں کو عبدالرحیم نے "دوگانہ" کا نام دیا ہے۔ دوگانے سے مراد ان الفاظ سے ہے جن میں دو مصوتے ہوتے ہیں۔ جیسے۔ کھائیے۔ ہائے۔ بھاؤ۔ تاؤ۔ نیارا۔ جوئے۔ روئے وغیرہ ماہرین لسانیات کا خیال ہے کہ ان میں آخر میں آنے والے مصوتے غیر مسموع ہیں۔ اس لئے انھیں نیم مصوتوں کا نام دیا گیا ہے۔ امر حیرت ہے کہ اب سے ڈیڑھ سو برس قبل جبکہ مشرق تو کیا مغرب بھی علم لسانیات سے کم ہی واقف تھا، یہ علومات اور زبان کی یہ نبض شناسی عبدالرحیم کے حصے میں کہاں سے آئی: ع درحیرتم کہ بادہ فروش از کجا شنید

پہلے باب میں اسم کی تعریف اور اس کی اقسام پر روشنی ڈالی گئی ہے۔ اس باب میں اسم کے متعلق

وہ سارے نکات اور مباحث زیر بحث آئے ہیں، جو آج بھی مروّج ہیں۔ دوسرا باب نائب کے بیان میں ہے۔ اس باب کے تحت ضمیر۔ موصول۔ اشارت۔ کنایت وغیرہ کی تشریح اور محلِ استعمال پر بحث کی گئی ہے۔ تیسرا باب فعل کی تعریف، تفصیل اور اقسام پر مبنی ہے۔ چوتھے باب میں "رنگ آمیزی" (رنگ آمیزی کا لفظ صفت کے لئے استعمال کیا ہے) کی تفصیل اور اقسام بیان کی گئی ہیں۔ پانچواں باب رابطہ کلمی کی تفصیل میں ہے۔ چھٹا باب رابطہ جملی کی تفصیل میں ہے۔ ساتواں باب حروف کی تعریف اور اہلِ زبان کے استعمال پر مبنی ہے۔ آٹھواں باب نحو کی تعریف میں ہے۔ اور آخری باب "دستور اُردو زبان ہندی اشعار" کے بیان پر مشتمل ہے۔

"قواعد اردو زبان" کے مطالعہ سے پتہ چلتا ہے کہ عبدالرحیم کے مخاطب خواص تھے۔ انھوں نے اس بات کا اعادہ بار بار کیا گیا ہے۔ اکثر مقامات پر مصنف نے اہلِ زبان اور اہلِ علم کے طرزِ تحریر و تقریر کو موضوع بحث بنایا ہے۔ اپنے عہد کی نثر نگاری کے عیوب پر تبصرہ کرتے ہوئے لکھتے ہیں:

> "اکثر اہلِ زبان موصولہ جو کے بعد کہ بڑھا کر یوں کہتے ہیں، وہ جو کہ آیا تھا جس نے کہ مارا تھا۔ جس پر کہ میرا گمان ہے: بجائے اسکی: وہ جو آیا تھا جس نے مارا تھا۔ اس تکرارِ موصولہ کو نستعلیق اس زبان کے بے مرو سرائی کے قبیل سے گنیں گے، امید کہ کرا ہی اس لہجہ کا فصیحوں کو زبان نہ بھائے گا اور کہنا برطرف سننا بھی خوش نہ آئے گا۔"

اسی طرح نثر میں فارسی تراکیبِ اضافی اور نامانوس الفاظ سے احتراز کی تاکید کی ہے۔ عبدالرحیم نے زبان کی سادگی، سہلی اور ہندوستانیت پر خاص زور دیا ہے۔ اس ضمن میں وہ پہلے ہندوستانی ہیں، جنھوں نے عربی الفاظ کو اُردو جامہ پہنانے پر اصرار کیا اور عربی و فارسی کے الفاظ بغیر کسی تغیر کے اُردو زبان میں استعمال کرنے کو نا تراشیدگی قرار دیا ہے۔ ایسے عربی الفاظ کی ایک مختصر فہرست بھی دی ہے، جو اُردو میں اپنے اصل تلفظ سے نہیں پڑھے جاتے۔ اسی طرح انھوں نے ص، ض، ط، ظ، ع، غ، ق وغیرہ عربی حروف کو عربی مخارج کے ساتھ ادا کرنے سے تاکیداً منع کیا ہے اور ان کو عربی لہجہ میں ادا کرنا شریعت فصاحت میں گناہ کبیرہ ٹھہرایا ہے۔

"دستور زبان اُردو" کے اس جائزہ کی بنیاد پر کہا جا سکتا ہے کہ اردو زبان کے قواعد نویسوں میں عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری ایک اعلیٰ اور ممتاز مقام کے حامل ہیں۔ وہ پہلے ہندوستانی ہیں بلکہ پہلے اُردو داں ہیں جنھوں نے زبان کا لسانی نکتہ نظر سے مطالعہ کیا اور نثر نویسی کے بعض اہم اُصول وضع کیے۔

(۲)

مولوی عبدالحق نے قواعد اُردو کے دیباچے میں اُردو قواعد نویسی کی جامع تاریخ پیش کی ہے :

اس فہرست میں جان جوشوکٹلر۔ گلکرسٹ۔ جان شکسپیئر۔ انشاء اللہ خاں۔ سر سید احمد خاں۔ مولانا امام بخش صہبائی اور دیگر نام شامل ہیں۔ لیکن کہیں اشارتاً بھی عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری یا ان کی قواعد کا ذکر نہیں کیا گیا ہے۔ بظاہر ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ سرے سے وہ اس قواعد کے وجود سے آگاہ ہی نہیں ہیں۔ بلکہ انھوں نے اس بات پر زور دیا ہے کہ اُردو میں قواعد نویسی کو تحقیقی رنگ میں پیش کرنے کا سہرا انھیں کے سر ہے۔ چنانچہ تحریر کرتے ہیں:

"میں نے اس کتاب کے لکھنے میں اس خیال کو مدنظر رکھا ہے اور صرف طلبائے مدارس کی ضروریات کا لحاظ نہیں کیا ہے بلکہ زیادہ تر یہ کتاب ان حضرات کے لئے ہے جو زبان کو نظر تحقیق سے دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں"۔[۱]

محولہ بالا اقتباس کی روشنی میں مولوی صاحب کی نیک نیتی اور راست گوئی پر شک نہیں کیا جا سکتا ہے۔ لیکن عبدالرحیم کی "دستور اردو زبان" اور مولوی عبدالحق کی "قواعد اُردو" میں اس قدر مماثلت ہے کہ ہم ان کے بیان پر شبہ کرنے پر مجبور ہیں۔ مولوی عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری نے بھی دعویٰ کیا ہے کہ انھوں نے "ضبط و ربط" کے ساتھ اپنی کتاب اہل زبان کے لئے تحریر کی ہے اور مولوی صاحب بھی اس کے مدعی ہیں۔ لیکن کیا کیا جائے کہ تقدیم زمانہ نے مولوی صاحب کے دعوی کو دعویٰ ثانی کر ڈالا۔ بہرکیف پوری کتاب کا تقابلی مطالعہ اس مختصر مضمون میں ممکن نہیں۔ لیکن چند مماثلتیں نمونہ از خروارے کے مصداق پیش کی جاتی ہیں تاکہ بات واضح ہو سکے۔

فعل کی تعریف دونوں حضرات نے بیان کی ہے اور اس کی اقسام پر روشنی بھی ڈالی ہے۔ یہاں دونوں حضرات کی تعریف درج کی جاتی ہے :۔

عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری	مولوی عبدالحق
۱۔ فعل وہ کلمہ ہے جس سے ہم ہونا، کرنا یا کیا جانا سمجھے ہیں۔ جیسے : فیروز ہے۔ خط لکھا جاتا ہے۔	۱۔ فعل وہ ہے کہ جس سے کسی کام کا کرنا یا ہونا ظاہر ہوتا ہے۔ جیسے : تماشہ ہوا۔ اس نے خط لکھا۔
۲۔ فعل متعدی جس کے معنی مفعول بھی چاہتے ہیں۔ جیسے : رستم نے خط لکھا	۲۔ فعل متعدی وہ ہے جس کا اثر فاعل سے گزر کر مفعول تک پہنچے۔ جیسے : احمد نے خط لکھا۔

ان دونوں مثالوں میں صرف الفاظ کا ردو بدل ہے۔ باقی جملے کی ساخت اور مثالیں یکساں اور ایک ہی مادہ سے مشتق ہیں۔ پہلے جملہ میں مجہول کو معروف کر دیا ہے اور دوسرے جملہ میں فاعل کا نام بدل دیا گیا ہے۔

۱۔ قواعد اردو لکھنؤ۔ الناظر پریس ۱۹۱۴ء۔ طبع اوّل ص ۱۸

اسی طرح مونث اور مذکر کے بیان میں مولوی صاحب نے فنی چابکدستی سے کام لیا ہے۔ ملاحظہ ہو:

۱۔ فارسی حاصل مصدر یا اسم حالت جس کے آخر میں شین زائد ہو، جیسے حاصل مصدر میں آتی ہے روش، دانش، خواہش، مونث ہیں۔	۱۔ تمام فارسی حاصل مصدر جن کے آخر میں شین ہے مونث ہوتے ہیں۔ جیسے: دانش، خواہش، بخشش وغیرہ۔
۲۔ حروف تہجی سے یہ حروف مونث ہیں۔ ب۔ بھ۔ پ۔ پھ۔ ت۔ تھ۔ ٹ۔ ٹھ۔ ث۔ ح۔ خ۔ د۔ ڈ۔ ذ۔ ر۔ ڑ۔ ز۔ ژ۔ ط۔ ظ۔ ف۔ ہ۔ ی اور باقی مذکر۔	۲۔ حروف تہجی میں ب، پ، ت، ث، ح، خ، د، ذ، ر، ز، ژ، ط، ظ، ف، ہ، ی، مونث ہیں۔
۳۔ اکثر عربی مصادر ان اوزان کے: انفعال، افتعال، تفعّل، تفاعل، افعال، تفعیل؛ جیسے اضطراب، اختیار، احترام، تناسل، تنزّل، اسلام، ایمان وغیرہ مذکر ہیں۔	۳۔ جو عربی الفاظ۔ افعال، افتعال، انفعال، استفعال، تفعّل، تفاعیل اور تفعل کے اوزان پر آتے ہیں وہ مذکر ہیں جیسے: اکرام، احسان، انعام، اختیار، اضطراب۔

مندرجہ بالا مثالیں اس قدر صاف اور واضح ہیں کہ مزید تشریح کی ضرورت نہیں ہے۔ لیکن اس امر کی طرف اشارہ کرنا ضروری ہے کہ مولوی صاحب نے مندرجہ بالا دونوں نکات اسی ترتیب سے تحریر کئے ہیں جس ترتیب سے عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری نے اپنی کتاب میں لکھے ہیں۔ مولوی صاحب نے نمبر ۲ کو نمبر ۲۳ اور نمبر ۳ کو نمبر ۲۴ لکھا ہے۔ عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری نے ان نکات کو نمبر ۸ اور ۹ کی ترتیب دی ہے۔ یعنی نہ صرف مواد اور الفاظ یکساں ہیں، بلکہ ترتیب بھی نہیں بدلی گئی ہے۔ چند مثالیں اور بھی پیش کی جاتی ہیں تاکہ مولوی عبدالحق کی قواعد کے منبع پر مزید روشنی پڑ سکے۔

حروف کی تعریف اور ان کے محل استعمال پر دونوں ہی قواعد نویسوں نے خاطر خواہ روشنی ڈالی ہے۔ ذیل میں چند مثالیں دی جاتی ہیں:

عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری	مولوی عبدالحق
۱۔ رابط کلمہ وہ کلمہ ہے جو دو لفظوں کے باہم کسی طرح کا ارتباط دیتا ہے۔ جیسے: پانی کو زے میں ہے۔ احمد کا گھر قلم سے لکھا۔	۱۔ حروف ربط وہ ہیں، جو ایک لفظ کا علاقہ کسی دوسرے لفظ سے ظاہر کرتے ہیں۔ کا، کے، کی، سے، میں، تئیں۔
۲۔ بعض انسان اضطرار کی وجہ سے بول اٹھتا ہے۔	۲۔ وہ الفاظ جو جوش یا جذبے میں بے تحاشا زبان سے

یا جو باقتضائے طبیعت بولے جاتے ہیں جیسے:

آہ، ہائے، واہ واہ، الغیاث وغیرہ حروفِ فجائیہ

۲۔ یہ چھوٹا لفظ "ہی" بڑے کام آتا ہے اور جملوں کے روزمرے میں اکثر بولا جاتا ہے۔ جیسے: وہ میرا اپنا دشمن ہے۔ میرے لیے ہی آیا۔ اس وضع کی ترکیب: مار ہی مار کا ٹا ہی کاٹا۔ ایسے موقع پر استعمال کرتے ہیں کہ فاعل کسی کام میں بے حد مشغول ہو اور کسی مانع و مزاحم سے باز نہ رہے۔

لفظ "تو" کو مختلف مقام میں استعمال کرتے ہیں۔ اکثر جملہ میں جزائیہ کے لاتے ہیں ع

جو تم آؤ تو پیارے پھر پیا ہمارے دن

اور بعض حالات صاحبی کے بھی تزئینِ کلام کے لئے لاتے ہیں جیسے: تُو نے، اُس نے، احمد نے وغیرہ

نکل جاتے ہیں جیسے: او۔ ہائے۔ ماشاء اللہ وغیرہ حروفِ فجائیہ ہیں۔

۳۔ حروفِ تخصیص۔ حروفِ تخصیص جب کسی اسم یا فعل کے ساتھ آتے ہیں تو ایک خصوصیت یا حصر پیدا کر دیتے ہیں جیسے: ہی۔ تو۔ بھی۔ ہر ؎

بات کرنی مجھے مشکل کبھی ایسی تو نہ تھی
جیسی اب ہے تری محفل کبھی ایسی تو نہ تھی

فعل کے ساتھ بھی یہ حرف استعمال ہوتے ہیں:

مصرع کسی نے ان کو سمجھایا تو ہوتا

ان مثالوں سے یہ بات واضح ہو جاتی ہے کہ مولوی عبدالحق کی "قواعدِ اردو" کی اساس عبدالرحیم کی "دستورِ اردو زبان" ہے۔ کیونکہ اردو کی دوسری مطبوعہ کتابوں میں قواعد کے اصول و ضوابط بہ انداز دیگر تحریر کیے گئے ہیں۔ یہاں بحث مواد کی یکسانیت سے نہیں ہے بلکہ اسلوبِ تحریر، دلائل اور مثالوں کی یکسانیت سے ہے۔ اس میں دو رائیں نہیں کہ مولوی عبدالحق نے اپنی "قواعدِ اردو" کو زیادہ تفصیل اور بہتر ترتیب کے ساتھ تحریر کیا ہے۔ مولوی صاحب کی "قواعدِ اردو" زبان اور اسلوب کے لحاظ سے عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری کی "دستورِ اردو زبان" سے بہتر اور اہم ہے۔ لیکن زباندانی اور سخن فہمی کے نکات عبدالرحیم گورکھپوری کی قواعد کا خاص وصف ہیں۔ کیفیت اور کمیت کے لحاظ سے مولوی صاحب کی "قواعدِ اردو" عبدالرحیم کے رسالہ کی نئی تدوین (REVISED EDITION) لگتی ہے۔

ان شواہد کی بنا پر کہا جا سکتا ہے کہ مولوی عبدالحق نے اپنی "قواعدِ اردو" میں زبان کے جو نکات پیش کیے ہیں اور لسانیات کے جو اصول وضع کیے ہیں ان کا سرچشمہ یہی غیر مطبوعہ رسالہ ہے اور یہ بات وثوق سے کہی جا سکتی ہے کہ "قواعدِ اردو" کی تالیف کے وقت ان کے پیشِ نظر یہ مخطوطہ ضرور رہا ہے اور انھوں نے اس سے بھرپور استفادہ کیا ہے۔

●●

مراسلات:

یلدرم کے بارے میں

خدابخش جرنل مل گئے۔ یلدرم والے مضمون میں ایک غلطی ہے۔ یلدرم کی تاریخ وفات ۱۱ اپریل ۱۹۴۳ء ہے، ۱۲ اپریل ۱۹۴۳ء نہیں جو مضمون میں چھپی ہے (ص۱۱۱ جرنل ۲۸) آیندہ اشاعت میں تصحیح کروا دیجیے گا

(قرۃ العین حیدر)
۵ رجولائی ۱۹۸۵ء

○

بہار اردو لغت کے بارے میں

"بہار اُردو لغت" بہت خوب ہے۔ حیرت کی بات ہے کہ بعض ایسے الفاظ اس میں موجود ہیں جو پنجابی زبان میں انہی معنوں میں مستعمل ہیں۔ سرسری مطالعہ کے بعد چند الفاظ درج کرتا ہوں۔ ممکن ہے مزید چھان بین کے بعد ان کی تعداد میں کچھ اضافہ ہو سکے۔

ص۳۶ دلا۔ دورا۔ ص۶۸ لار۔ ص۶۹ لسّی (دہی کا شربت) کسوڑ ہا۔ ص۷۰ لگانا لکڑ دادا۔ لکنا۔ ص۷۱ لولہا۔ ص۷۱ ماڑا۔ ص۷۲ منڈھ۔ ص۷۷ نیول ص۹۶ گندھی یا گاندھی عطر فروش کے لئے۔ ص۹۶ گنجی، نبیائن کے معنوں میں سندھ میں بولا جاتا ہے۔ ص۳۰ پر "ملتان (بلوچستان)" اگر کاتب کی غلطی نہیں تو عرض ہے کہ ملتان، پنجاب میں ہے، بلوچستان میں نہیں۔ اگر یوں ہوتا کہ "کوئٹہ (بلوچستان) میں بولی جاتی ہے" تو درست ہوتا۔"

(خورشید احمد خاں، لاہور)
یکم جنوری ۱۹۸۵ء

جناب رشید حسن خاں
شعبۂ اردو، دہلی یونیورسٹی، دہلی

کچھ "بہار اردو لغت" کے بارے میں

"جرنل" کا شمارہ نمبر ۲۸ ملا تھا۔ یہ آپ نے بڑا کام کیا کہ اس شمارے میں اُس لغت کو شائع کر دیا۔ یہ پڑھ کر مزید خوشی ہوئی کہ ایک مکمل لغت بھی اس سلسلے کا مرتب کیا جا رہا ہے۔ میرا ہمیشہ سے یہ خیال رہا ہے کہ جب تک (۱) علاقائی سطح پر زبان اور ادب کی تاریخیں مرتب نہیں کی جائیں گی، اُس وقت تک کوئی مکمل تاریخ ادب اور تاریخ زبان صحیح معنی میں مرتب نہیں ہو سکتی۔ (۲) اسی طرح جب تک علاقائی بول چال پر مشتمل ضمنی فرہنگیں مرتب نہیں ہوں گی، اس وقت تک مکمل لغت بھی تکمیل کو نہیں پہنچے گا اور علاقائی ادب کے مخصوص عوامی اجزا کو صحیح طور پر نہیں سمجھا جا سکے گا۔ جو کچھ آپ نے اس شمارے میں شائع کیا ہے، اسی سے اندازہ کیا جا سکتا ہے کہ علاقائی بولی کا سرمایہ کیسا ہوتا ہے، کس قدر ہو سکتا ہے اور اُس کی ترتیب کی کیوں ضرورت ہے۔

چوں کہ ایک مکمل لغت زیر ترتیب ہے آپ کے یہاں، اس لیے جی چاہا کہ اس مطبوعہ حصّے سے متعلق بعض امور کی طرف آپ کی توجہ مبذول کراؤں، تاکہ اُس لغت میں یہ صورت پیدا نہ ہو۔ چوں کہ آپ نے اس حصّے کو مرتّب نہیں کرایا ہے، صرف دوبارہ چھاپا ہے، اس لیے آپ اس حصّے میں کچھ نہیں کر سکتے تھے اور اصولاً ترمیم و تنسیخ کرنا بھی نہیں چاہیے تھی، مقصد صرف یہ ہے کہ جس لغت کو آپ مرتب کرا رہے ہیں، اُس میں کوتاہی و خامی نظر انداز رہ نہ جائے اور بہار سے باہر رہنے والوں کو استفادہ کرنے میں دقّت پیش نہ آئے۔

(۱) اس حصّے میں متعدد مقامات پر ایسے اندراجات ہیں جو علاقائی نہیں، عام ہیں۔ ایسا کوئی اندراج اُس لغت میں نہیں ہونا چاہیے۔ ہاں اُس میں کسی طرح کی تبدیلی ہو معنی و مفہوم کی یا الفاظ کی، تب ٹھیک ہے۔ مثلاً "اَرکا" معنی ۔۔ میں عام لفظ ہے۔ "اَرئی" یہ بھی عام لفظ ہے۔ مشہور مثل ہے کہ چلتے بیل کی ۔۔۔ میں ارئی کرنا۔ "بھگوا" یہ بھی عام لفظ ہے یا "گندھی" عطر فروش کے معنی میں، یا "گودی" گود کے معنی میں، یا "آپا" بڑی بہن کے معنی، یا "دو بدو" مُنھ در مُنھ کے معنی میں، یا "دولائی" "دوشالہ" "دفنانا" "جھل کنجی کا کٹورا" (یہ فسانۂ عجائب میں بھی آیا ہے)، "چھیلا"، "چسنا" (یہ تو بہت پرانا لفظ ہے اور میر و سودا کے یہاں کئی جگہ ملے گا) "چاند تارا"، "جھونٹا"، "جھرا جھر"، "جھپٹا مارنا"، "ٹھڈی"، "ٹنگری" (ٹنگری تڑے سے عرفی وقدسی نکل چلے "مرزا عظیم بیگ")، "ڈنڈا"، "تہمن"، "تریا"

"پنی کھوڑ"، "پریشان حواس"، "پار کرنا"، "جھنجھوڑنا"، "بھڑتا" (شاہجہان پور میں "بھڑتا" ہی کہتے ہیں دہلی میں "بھڑتا" بھی سنا ہے)۔ یہ مکمل فہرست نہیں۔

(۲) ایک بڑا مسئلہ تلفظ کا ہے۔ یہ بات ظاہر ہے کہ بہار سے باہر رہنے والے افراد ان خاص لفظوں کے تلفظ سے کماحقہ واقف نہیں ہوں گے، اور جب تک خاص لفظوں پر مکمل اعراب ثبت نہیں ہوں، اُس وقت تک وہ ان کا تلفظ صحیح طور پر نہیں کر سکتے۔ اس مطبوعہ حصے میں کچھ لفظوں پر اعراب لگائے گئے ہیں، مگر ان کی پابندی نہیں کی گئی ہے اور بہت سے لفظ اس سے خالی ہیں، یا لفظوں کے ایسے حرفوں پر اعراب موجود نہیں، جن پر لازماً ہونا چاہیے تھے۔ یہی حال معروف و مجہول آوازوں کی علامتوں کا ہے۔ مثلاً: "ادھکی" (تلفظ؟)، "انکھوت" "انکھونا" (واو معروف ہے یا مجہول؟) "اِک بگا" (ب مکسورہ ہے یا مفتوح یا مضموم؟) "اُکرتا" (واو معروف ہے یا مجہول؟) "اکھینا" (یے معروف ہے کہ مجہول ——— ؟) "اُکیل بکیل" (ایضاً) "اُگین" (ایضاً) "الکوسی" (واو؟) "اموری" (ایضاً) "اینٹا" (یے معروف ہے یا مجہول؟) غرض کہ ایسی مثالیں ہر صفحے سے کئی ایک پیش کی جا سکتی ہیں۔ آپ کے نئے لغت میں اعراب اور علامت کا مکمل التزام ہونا چاہیے۔

(۳) اس مطبوعہ حصے میں تشریحات کے ذیل میں بے تکلف ایسے الفاظ استعمال کیے گئے ہیں جن کے معنی سے دوسرے لوگ واقف نہیں ہوں گے اور اس طرح اُس تشریح کو پوری طرح سمجھ نہیں پائیں گے۔ میں تو بہت سے مقامات پر مفہوم کو نہیں سمجھ سکا۔ میں نے قیاس کر لیا ہے کہ دوسروں کا احوال بھی کچھ ایسا ہی ہوگا۔ مثلاً:

"اُلن" پیال۔ "ہٹار" (د) کا موٹا سوف جو گلابے میں لگاتے ہیں"۔ میں "گلابے" سے واقف نہیں اور خود (اس) فرہنگ میں لفظ موجود نہیں۔ (اردو کے دیگر لغات میں یہ ہے یا نہیں، یہاں اس سے بحث نہیں)۔ "آنگی ..... جس سے میلا اچھالا جاتا ہے"۔ میں نے قیاساً یہ مان لیا ہے کہ "اچھالا جانا" چھاننے کے معنی میں وہاں مستعمل ہوگا۔ "اُترا چال" "اُمیلا چال (دیکھئے)۔ مطلب سمجھ میں نہیں آیا۔ "اُترنگا۔ اُترنگی: اترالا بارانی ہرا نے لیے بولتے ہیں"۔ (ایضاً)۔ "اُکھورا: اینٹ کا ڈھیلا"۔ "اینٹ کا ڈھیلا" میرے لیے اجنبی ہے۔ "اُڑاس: کنوئیں پر لکڑی یا پتھر، جس پر کھڑے ہو کر لاٹھا چلاتے ہیں۔ وہ جگہ جہاں کھڑے ہو کر کرنگ چلاتے ہیں"۔ لاٹھا اور کرنگ، دونوں سے میں واقف نہیں۔ شاید کچھ

اور لوگوں کے لیے بھی یہ اجنبی لفظ ہوں۔

"جھکندر۔ جھکندھر" مطلب واضح نہیں ہوا ـــــ "ڈابر: ایک گِل اندازی کے اندر کے کھیتوں کا مجموعہ"۔ خط کشیدہ اصطلاح لفظ بجائے خود تشریح طلب ہے۔ مطلب مبہم رہ گیا ـــــ "ڈادن ڈڈیا: شادی کی ایک رسم"۔ کون سی رسم؟ "چترا کی بارش مٹی کی طاقت کو برباد کر دیتی ہے" (ص ۹۳) "چترا" دوسروں کے لیے خود تشریح طلب ہے۔ "گھر جریبیں، گھُر بتاؤ: گھر جلتا ہے اور گھر بناتا ہے..." (ص ۱۰۳)۔ مطلب کیا ہوا؟ ایسی مثالیں اس حصّے میں اچھی خاصی تعداد میں ہیں۔

(۴) ایک خاص احتیاط طلب معاملہ زبان کا ہے۔ تشریح کے ذیل میں میں اس کی صرف دو مثالوں پر اکتفا کروں گا۔ (۱) "ٹوٹا... جس پر تل چھڑکی ہوتی ہے"۔ معیاری زبان میں "تل" مذکر ہے۔ (۲) "گندھی.... ایک قسم کا بدبو پرواز"۔ "بدبو" کا یہ استعمال اب متروک ہو چکا ہے ـــــ بس ایک اور مثال: "پٹنے کے دِلوالہ مارنے والے..." (ص ۸۵) یہ مقامی اندازِ بیان ہے۔

میری درخواست ہے کہ اوپر جو کچھ لکھا گیا ہے، اُسے اعتراض کے ذیل میں نہ رکھا جائے۔ مقصد محض یہ ہے کہ نئے لغت کے سلسلے میں احتیاط کے تقاضوں کو خاص طور پر ملحوظ رکھا جائے۔ بلخی مرحوم نے بہت محنت کی ہے اور بڑا کام کیا ہے۔ اِس کا اعتراف کیا جاتا ہے۔ اُنھیں اوّلیت کا شرف ہمیشہ حاصل رہے گا۔ اور یہ شرف معمولی نہیں ہوتا اور ہر شخص کو حاصل نہیں ہو پاتا۔

اور ہاں، ایک بڑا مسئلہ ہے اِملا کا، لیکن اِس سے متعلق یوں کچھ نہیں لکھا کہ آپ خود اِس مسئلے سے بخوبی آشنا ہیں، محتاط ہیں اور دیکھ بھال رکھیں گے۔ دوسرے لوگ اس بنیادی مسئلے کو درخورِ توجہ نہیں سمجھتے، اور ایسا عموماً اِس لئے ہوتا ہے کہ یہ حضرات اِس موضوع سے کما حقّہٗ واقف نہیں ہوتے۔ طولِ کلام پر معذرت طلب ہوں۔

رشید حسن خاں

۳ جنوری ۱۹۸۵ء

(ایک خط سے اقتباس)

بیان ملکیت سہ ماہی خدابخش لائبریری جرنل اور دیگر تفصیلات

مطابق فارم نمبر ۴، قاعدہ نمبر ۸

۱- مقام اشاعت	:	خدابخش اورینٹل پبلک لائبریری، پٹنہ
۲- وقفہ اشاعت	:	سہ ماہی
۳،۴- پرنٹر و پبلشر کا نام	:	محبوب حسین
قومیت	:	ہندستانی
پتا	:	رمنا روڈ، پٹنہ ۴
۵- ایڈیٹر کا نام	:	عابد رضا بیدار
قومیت	:	ہندستانی
پتا	:	ڈائرکٹر خدابخش اورینٹل پبلک لائبریری، پٹنہ ۴
۶- ملکیت	:	خدابخش لائبریری، پٹنہ

میں محبوب حسین اعلان کرتا ہوں کہ مندرجۂ بالا تفصیلات میرے علم و یقین کے مطابق درست ہیں۔

دستخط پبلشر : محبوب حسین

۲۸ فروری ۱۹۸۵ء

پروفیسر شاہ عطاء الرحمٰن عطا کاکوی
(پٹنہ)

تصحیح و اضافہ

مسامحات مرآۃ العلوم، جلد سوم
(مسلسل)

(۲۰۸) صفحہ ۹۷، کتاب نمبر ۳۳۲۶۔ نام کتاب گنجِ شائگان (مثنوی حاتم نامہ جلد اول)، مصنفہ لالہ رام چند فرحت۔ فہرست میں کتاب کی تاریخ ۱۱۸۸ھ بتائی ہے۔ حالانکہ یہ تصنیفِ مثنوی کی تاریخ ہے۔ خود مصنف نے اس کی تاریخ تصنیف یوں بتائی ہے کہ دو انگلیوں کو سیدھا رکھیے اور دو کو خم کر دیجیے تو ۱۱۸۸ھ صاف نظر آجائے گا۔ اس کی کتابت ۱۲۹۶ھ میں ہوئی۔ شوق نیموی نے اس کی تاریخِ کتابت کا قطعہ لکھا ہے، جو اسی کتاب میں منقول ہے۔

(۲۰۹) صفحہ ۱۳۲، کتاب نمبر ۳۵۶۱۔ نام کتاب تجنیس اللغات۔ فہرست میں اس کے اوراق کی تعداد ۱۲ بتائی گئی ہے۔ دراصل یہ کتاب صرف ۶ اوراق پر مشتمل ہے۔ اس مجلد میں ایک دوسرا رسالہ الگ سے ہے جس کا نام نصاب مثلث ہے اور اس کا مصنف بدیعی ہے۔ یہ بھی ۶ اوراق پر مشتمل ہے۔ فہرست نگار نے دونوں کتابوں کو ایک تصور کر کے اوراق کی تعداد ۱۲ کر دی۔ دوسری کتاب کا اندراج الگ سے صفحہ ۱۳۵ پر ہونا چاہیے تھا۔

(۲۱۰) صفحہ ۱۳۲، کتاب نمبر ۴۱۰۳۔ نام کتاب ریاض الحروف، نام مصنف وزیر علی عبرتی عظیم آبادی۔ اس کتاب کا اندراج فہرست میں لغات و فرہنگ کے تحت ہوا۔ پھر صفحہ ۱۲۵ میں اسی کتاب کے دو دیگر نسخوں کا اندراج صرف و نحو کے تحت میں ہے۔ حالانکہ تینوں نسخے ایک ہی موضوع سے متعلق ہیں اور ایک ہی مصنف کے ہیں۔ اس تقسیم سے اشتباہ ہو سکتا ہے کہ یا تو مصنف الگ الگ ہیں یا کتابوں کا موضوع مختلف ہے۔

(۲۱۱) صفحہ ۱۳۲، کتاب نمبر ۲۷۵۵۔ نام کتاب شرح نصاب الصبیان، فہرست نگار نے مصنف کا نام

نہیں لکھا ہے۔ مصنف کا نام حاجی محمود بن فصیح محمد مدعو بہ کریم الدین دشت بیاضی ہے۔

(۲۱۲) صفحہ ۱۳۶، کتاب نمبر ۳۱۱۲۔ نام کتاب 'نصیب الاخوان' فہرست میں مصنف کا نام 'مولانا منظر' لکھا ہے۔ اصل نام مطہر (بدون نقطہ)۔ اس کا ایک مخطوطہ کراچی میوزیم میں ہے۔ مصنف نے اپنا نام ایک مصرع میں ظاہر کیا ہے: ع 'کز مطہر چو ماہ گشت عیاں' منظر نام ہوتا تو مصرع ناموزوں ہو جاتا۔ مقالات محمد شفیع میں اس کتاب کو مطہر کڑا سے منسوب کیا گیا ہے۔

(۲۱۳) صفحہ ۱۵۵، نام کتاب 'بہارستان' کاتب کا نام فہرست میں مندرج نہیں۔ کاتب کا نام اودھی لال۔ کیفیت کے خانہ میں 'ناقص الاوّل' کا اضافہ چاہیے۔

(۲۱۴) صفحہ ۱۶۱، نمبر کتاب ۳۶۶۶/۱، کاتب کا نام نہیں لکھا، اس کا نام بھجوکن لال ہے۔

(۲۱۵) صفحہ ۲۱۱، نمبر کتاب ۲۸۱۰۔ نام کتاب 'اسرار الشہود'۔ فن تصوف کے تحت اس کا اندراج اشتباہ پیدا کر سکتا ہے کہ یہ خواجہ فریدالدین عطار کی کسی نثری تصنیف کا نام ہے۔ حالانکہ یہ ان کی ایک منظوم مثنوی ہے۔ اس کا اندراج منظومات اور متفرقات میں ہونا چاہیے تھا۔ تصوف کی نثری کتابوں میں اس کا صحیح مقام نہیں۔

(۲۱۶) صفحہ ۲۱۶، نمبر کتاب ۳۰۶۴ و ۳۰۶۵۔ یہ دونوں کتابیں ایک ساتھ مجلد ہیں۔ ان کے نام فہرست میں 'ارشاد الطالبین' اور 'ارشاد السالکین' علی الترتیب لکھا ہے۔ حالانکہ ان دونوں کے درمیان ایک کتاب اور دبی پڑی رہ گئی۔ اس کا نام 'رسالہ شاہ برہان الدین' ہے جو فہرست سے خارج ہے۔ پہلی کتاب ارشاد الطالبین کے مصنف کا نام جلال الدین بن محمد تھانیسری لکھا ہے۔ حالانکہ نام صرف جلال بن محمد ہے۔ اس کے اوراق کی تعداد ۳۵ بتائی ہے جو حقیقتاً ۲۹ ہے۔ درمیان کا جو رسالہ برہان الدین ہے اس کے اوراق کی تعداد ۶ ہے جو غلطی سے اوّل الذکر کتاب کے اوراق میں شامل ہے۔ تیسری کتاب (ارشاد السالکین) کے کاتب کے کالم میں "ایضاً" مطبوعہ ہے وہ مذکورہ بالا کاتب محمد دائم صدیقی کی تحریر نہیں معلوم ہوتی۔ اس کا کاتب کوئی دوسرا ہے جس کا نام معلوم نہیں۔ سطور کی تعداد بھی بجائے ۱۵ کے صرف ۱۱ ہے۔ اس کتاب کا ایک دوسرا نسخہ اسی فہرست کے صفحہ ۲۲۱ پر موجود ہے اس کی اطلاع کیفیت کے خانہ میں ظاہر کرنا تھی۔

(۲۱۷) صفحہ ۲۱۶، نمبر کتاب ۳۹۲۔ نام کتاب 'آداب المریدین' فہرست نگار نے اس کو اصل کتاب

سمجھ کر مصنف کے نام کے تحت شیخ ابو النجیب۔ عبد القاہر سہروردی درج کیا ہے۔ حالانکہ یہ آداب المریدین نہیں بلکہ اس کی شرح ہے اور کتاب پر اس کا نام "مطالب الطالب الشرف" لکھا ہے۔ ترقیمہ میں اس کے مؤلف کا نام حضرت مخدوم شیخ شرف الدین یحییٰ منیری لکھا ہے۔

(۲۱۸) صفحہ ۲۱۷، کتاب نمبر ۲۴۶۹۔ نام کتاب "انیس العشاق" ہے۔ اس کے مصنف کا نام شیخ شرف الدین احمد یحییٰ منیری لکھا ہے۔ یہ اندراج ناقابل قبول ہے۔ یہ کتاب نہ حضرت منیری کی تصنیف ہے اور نہ اس کا تعلق تصوف سے ہے۔ نام ہی سے ظاہر ہے کہ یہ کتاب عشاق مجازی کے محبوب کے اعضا و جوارح کی تعریف و توصیف اور اشعار کے ذریعہ ان کی وضاحت کی گئی ہے۔ یہ فن انشا یا اسی قسم کی کسی صنف سے متعلق ہو سکتی ہے۔ تعجب ہے کہ فہرست نگار نے اس کو تصوف میں کیسے شامل کر دیا۔

(۲۱۹) صفحہ ۲۱۷، نمبر کتاب ۲۹۳۹۔ نام کتاب "انیس العشاق"۔ یہ کتاب بھی مذکورہ بالا کتاب کا ایک دوسرا نسخہ ہے۔ اس کے متعلق بھی جو وہی سابقہ اطلاع فہرست میں ہے جو پہلے سے غلط ہے۔

(۲۲۰) صفحہ ۲۲۷، نمبر کتاب ۲۸۸۲۔ اس نمبر کے تحت فہرست میں چار کتابوں کا اندراج ہے۔ حالانکہ اس مجلد میں ۵ کتابیں بایں تفصیل ہیں: (۱) انیس الارواح؛ (۲) دلیل العارفین؛ (۳) فوائد السالکین؛ (۴) راحت القلوب؛ (۵) افضل الفوائد (دلیل العارفین کا اندراج غلطی سے رہ گیا ہے)۔ اب ان کتابوں سے متعلق چند مسامحات جو مندرج ہو گئیں ان کی نشاندہی ضروری ہے:

(۱) انیس الارواح کے مصنف کا نام معین الدین حسن سنجری لکھا ہے۔ اوّل تو یہ انتخاب مشکوک ہے۔ اس کی بحث مفصل فہرست میں ہوگی۔ لفظ سنجری غلط طور پر مستعمل ہے۔ اصل لفظ سجزی ہے (س ج زی)۔ صفحات کی تعداد ۳۲ بتائی ہے، حالانکہ صرف ۱۶ ہے۔ کاتب کا نام مخطوطہ میں مبہم لکھا ہوا ہے۔ سنہ کتابت بھی غیر متعین ہے۔

(۲) دلیل العارفین۔ اس کتاب کا جیسا کہ اوپر ذکر ہوا، اندراج نہیں ہوا۔ اس کے مرتب حضرت قطب الدین بختیار کاکی ہیں، جو ملفوظات حضرت معین الدین چشتی پر مشتمل ہے۔ اس کا دوسرا نسخہ نمبر کتاب ۳۶۱۳ ہے۔ کاتب اور سنہ کتابت ندارد۔

(۳) فوائد السالکین، مصنف کا نام قطب الدین بختیار لکھا ہے۔ حالانکہ یہ حضرت کاکیؒ کے

ملفوظات ہیں۔ اس کے مرتب حضرت بابا فرید شکر گنج ہیں۔

(۴) راحت القلوب: مؤلف کا مشہور نام حضرت نظام الدین اولیا ہے۔ اس کا ایک نسخہ (نمبر کتاب ۲۶۴۴) موجود ہے۔ اس کی اطلاع بھی کیفیت کے کالم میں دی جانی چاہیے تھی۔

(۵) 'افضل الفوائد' مؤلف کا نام نہیں لکھا۔ اس کے مؤلف حضرت امیر خسرو ہیں۔

(۲۲) صفحہ ۲۱۸، نمبر کتاب ۲۵۹۲، نام کتاب 'خوان پر نعمت' فہرست میں کاتب کا نام نہیں لکھا، مگر ابتدائی ورق پر ایک کاغذ چسپاں ہے جس پر کاتب کا نام نور قطب عالم لکھا ہے۔ یہ ایک اہم اطلاع ہے۔ کاتب کا زمانہ صاحب ملفوظ (مخدوم بہاری) کے قریب العہد ہے۔ کتابت کا انداز بھی قدیم ہے۔ فہرست میں کتابت کا زمانہ بارہویں صدی ہجری قرار دیا گیا ہے۔ کتابت کی تاریخ کا زمانہ نویں صدی ہجری قرار دیا جانا چاہیے۔ اس نسخہ کا پہلا اور آخری ورق کسی اور کاتب کا لکھا ہوا معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ کیفیت کے کالم میں یہ اطلاع ضروری تھی کہ اس کتاب کا ایک نسخہ (نمبر ۱۳۸۸) یہاں موجود ہے، جو غلط فہمی کی بنا پر فہرست جلد اول صفحہ ۲۲۷ پر بنام معدن المعانی درج ہو گیا ہے، نیز فہرست انگریزی میں بھی یہی غلطی سرزد ہو گئی ہے۔ (نمبر ۱۳۶۰ - جلد ۱۶) - خوان پر نعمت معدن المعانی کا دوسرا حصہ ہے۔

(۲۳) صفحہ ۲۱۹ - نمبر کتاب ۱۹۴۰ اور ۱۹۴۱ - دونوں کتابیں فہرست میں بنام خوان پر نعمت مندرج ہیں - دونوں کتابوں کا کاتب ایک ہی ہے۔ پہلی کتاب کے ورق ۳۱ تک عبارت خوان پر نعمت کی ہے - ورق ۳۲ تا ۳۹ (ختم کتاب) ایک دوسرے مخطوطہ کے اوراق ہیں - کتاب نمبر ۱۹۴۱ کے چند اوراق کے بعد ورق ۵۹ سے خوان پر نعمت کا سلسلہ ملتا ہے اس میں بھی ورق ۶۳ غیر متعلق ہے۔

جو اوراق 'خوان پر نعمت' سے غیر متعلق ہیں، ان کے متعلق یہ اطلاع کتاب سے ظاہر ہوتی ہے کہ یہ دوسرا مجموعہ ملفوظات ہے جس کا نام ملفوظ المبارک ہے۔ یہ بھی حضرت مخدوم بہاری کے ملفوظات ہیں۔

ضرورت ہے کہ دونوں مجلدات کی از سر نو ترتیب کر دی جائے اور الگ الگ جلد میں کر دی جائیں موجودہ صورت میں قارئین دشواری کے علاوہ غلط فہمی کے شکار ہو جا سکتے ہیں۔

۱۲۳ صفحہ ۲۲۰، نمبر کتاب ۳۴۴۲۶۔ نام کتاب "راحت القلوب" کتابت کی تاریخ فہرست میں ۱۲۸۷ھ لکھا ہے، اس کو ۱۲۷۸ھ ہونا چاہیے۔ یہ اطلاع بھی ضروری تھی کہ یہ نسخہ ایک مطبوعہ نسخہ سے منقول ہے۔

۱۲۴ صفحہ ۲۲۰۔ نمبر کتاب ۳۳۵۱۔ نام کتاب "رسالہ ابوالعلا و الہامات صوفیہ"۔ فہرست نگار نے دونوں رسالوں کو ایک ہی سمجھا ہے۔ حالانکہ دونوں رسالے الگ الگ ہیں۔ پہلا رسالہ حضرت ابوالعلا کا ہے جو صرف ۵ اوراق کو محیط ہے۔ یہ رسالہ مراتب فنا پر مشتمل ہے۔ دوسرا رسالہ "الہامات منعمی" ہے جبکہ فہرست نگاراں نے "الہامات صوفیہ" لکھا ہے۔ اس کے نسخے اسی کتب خانے میں اور بھی موجود ہیں (نمبر ۳۷- ۱۳۳۶)، مذکورہ بالا کتاب کا سنہ کتابت بھی ۱۲۴۶ھ نہ جانے کہاں سے اخذ کیا ہے۔ اس پر کوئی سنہ کتابت نہیں۔ مزید برآں اس کتاب کے ساتھ ایک اور رسالہ بھی مجلد ہے، جس کا اندراج صفحہ ۲۴۰ پر بنام وصایا شیخ الاسلام بتایا گیا ہے۔ حالانکہ یہ وصایا شیخ الاسلام نہیں بلکہ وصایائے شیخ شرف الدین یحیٰ منیری ہے۔ اس کے مرتب زین بدر عربی ہیں، جن کا نام رسالہ کی پہلی ہی سطر میں موجود ہے۔ اوراق کی تعداد ۱۳ نہیں بلکہ ۱۲ ہے۔ تیرھواں ورق خلفائے حضرت ابوالعلا اور ان کے بعد کے خلفا کا ہے، جس کا تعلق کسی رسالہ سے نہیں۔ اس آخری رسالہ کا سال کتابت بھی فہرست میں ۱۲۴۶ قرار دیا گیا ہے جس کا کوئی ثبوت نہیں ملتا۔ کیفیت میں اطلاع دینی تھی کہ یہ رسالہ ۱۳۵۱ کے ساتھ مجلد ہے۔

۱۲۵ صفحہ ۲۲۰، نمبر کتاب ۳۶۱۳، نام کتاب "دلیل العارفین" کیفیت کے خانہ میں یہ اطلاع دینا تھی کہ نسخہ دیگر ۲۸۸۲ ہے۔

۱۲۶ صفحہ ۲۲۰، نمبر کتاب ۳۴۳۹۔ نام کتاب "رسالہ حق نما"۔ فہرست میں اوراق کی تعداد ۲۷ بتائی ہے، صرف ۱۷ ہونا چاہیے۔ فہرست نگار نے آخر کے ۱۰ اوراق کو بھی کتاب کا جز قرار دیا ہے۔ حالانکہ وہ غیر متعلق تحریریں ہیں جو چند ادعیہ و اوراد پر مشتمل ہیں، جن کا تعلق اصل کتاب سے نہیں ہے۔

۱۲۷ صفحہ ۲۲۲، نمبر کتاب ۳۰۶۱۔ اس نمبر کے تحت فہرست میں کتاب کے صرف دو نام منسلک ہیں: (۱) رسالہ مراتب وجود۔ (۲) مکتوب مخدوم الملک —— دراصل ان دونوں کتابوں کے درمیان ایک اور رسالہ بنام رسالہ وحدت وجود کا وجود پایا جاتا ہے۔ رسالہ وحدت وجود کے

مصنف کا نام میر سید نظام الدین بہاری ہے۔ اوراق ١٥ - سطور ١٥ - اس کے کاتب بھی دائم صدیقی بہاری ہیں اور کتابت کی تاریخ بھی ١١٦٣ھ۔

مکتوب مخدوم الملک کے نام ہے جو رسالہ ہے، وہ درحقیقت مکتوب بست و ہشت ہے۔ اس کے اوراق فہرست میں ٥٥ بتائے گئے ہیں۔ حالانکہ ان کی تعداد صرف ۴٠ ہے۔ فہرست نگار نے مذکورہ بالا رسالہ 'وحدت وجود' کے اوراق کو بھی غلطی سے اس میں شامل کر دیا ہے اور اس کتاب کو سرے سے نظر انداز کر دیا ہے۔

(۲۲۸) صفحہ ۲۳۶ - نمبر کتاب ۳۹٦۲، نام کتاب 'مکتوبات صدی' کیفیت کے خانہ میں بتایا ہے کہ اس کتاب کے دیگر نسخے ١٣٩١ تا ١٣٩٦ ہیں۔ یہ اطلاع غلط ہے۔ کتاب نمبر ١٣٩١ کا نام حقیقتاً 'خوانِ پر نعمت' ہے (جو غلطی سے 'معدن المعانی' سمجھا گیا ہے) ١٣٩٤ اور ١٣٩٣ البتہ مکتوبات صدی کے نسخے ہیں۔ ١٣٩٤ تا ١٣٩٦ مکتوبات صدی نہیں، بلکہ مکتوبات دو صدی ہیں۔

(۲۲۹) صفحہ ۲۳٦، نمبر کتاب ۳۴٦۳، کتاب کا نام فہرست میں مکتوبات صدی لکھا ہے، مگر کیفیت میں یہ بتایا ہے کہ اس میں ١٩٧ مکاتیب ہیں اس لئے ان کو مکتوبات دو صدی بھی کہا جاتا ہے۔ مکتوبات صدی اور دو صدی دو مختلف مجموعے ہیں اس لئے اس کتاب کا نام بجائے صدی کے دو صدی ہی لکھنا چاہیے تھا۔

(۲۳۰) صفحہ ۲۳۸، نمبر کتاب ۳٧۲١ - نام کتاب "نالۂ عندلیب" فہرست میں اس کتاب کا اندراج تصوف کے فن کے تحت کیا ہے۔ اس کا تعلق قصص و حکایات سے ہے۔ خود فہرست نگار اسی کتاب کے متعلق اسی فہرست کے صفحہ ١٢٢ پر ایک دوسرے نسخہ (نمبر کتاب ۳۴۴۴) کا اندراج قصص و حکایات کے تحت کر چکے ہیں۔ خود فہرست نگار نے یہ اطلاع دی ہے کہ اس کا ایک اور نسخہ (نمبر کتاب ٧۴۴) فہرست جلد اول مرتبہ خان بہادر عبدالقادر میں متعارف ہوا اور انھوں نے بھی اس کو قصص و حکایات میں داخل کیا ہے۔ کیفیت میں یہ درج ہے کہ یہ دراصل ایک تمثیلی قصہ ہے جس میں حقایق و معارف کے مسائل بیان کئے گئے ہیں۔

(۲۳۱) صفحہ ۲۳۸، نمبر کتاب ۲۵١۵ - نام کتاب انتخاب نفحات الانس۔ مصنف کا نام فہرست میں نہیں۔ نفحات الانس نورالدین عبدالرحمٰن جامی کی تصنیف ہے۔ اس انتخاب کے مرتب کا نام معلوم نہیں۔

(۱۳۲) صفحہ ۲۳۸، نمبر کتاب ۲۸۸۵، نام کتاب "نزہۃ الارواح"۔ کاتب کا نام احمد اسمٰعیل لکھا ہے پورا نام حامد احمد اسمٰعیل ہے۔ اس کا خط نستعلیق نہیں بلکہ نسخ ہے۔

(۱۳۳) صفحہ ۲۳۹، نمبر کتاب ۲۸۲۳، نام کتاب "نفحات الانس"، کیفیت میں یہ اطلاع ہے کہ صفحہ آخر پر ایک مہر ہے۔ حالانکہ نہ صرف آخری صفحہ بلکہ اوّل صفحہ پر بھی مہر واقع ہے۔

(۱۳۴) صفحہ ۲۳۹، نمبر کتاب ۲۹۰۳، نام کتاب "نفحات الانس"۔ فہرست میں سال کتابت لا دہیں صدی بتایا گیا ہے یہ صحیح تو ہے مگر کتاب میں صحیح تاریخ ۱۰۱۴ھ منضبط ہے۔ کتابت بھی نستعلیق نہیں بلکہ خط نسخ ہے۔

(۱۳۵) صفحہ ۲۴۰، نمبر کتاب ۲۷۱۹، نام کتاب "واردات"، اوراق کی تعداد بجائے ۲۴۴ کے ۲۲۱ ہے۔ کیفیت میں نسخہ دیگر کا حوالہ کتاب نمبر ۱۳۱۲ دینا چاہیے تھا۔

(۱۳۶) صفحہ ۲۴۰، نمبر کتاب ۲۳۶۳/۱، نام کتاب "خوان پر نعمت"، کیفیت کے خانے میں دینا تھا۔ نسخہ دیگر ۱۳۸۸، ۲۵۹۲، ۱۹۴۰، ۱۹۴۱۔

(۱۳۷) صفحہ ۲۴۰، نمبر کتاب ۲۶۵/۱، نام کتاب ترجمہ منظومہ سر الشہادتین۔ اس کا تعلق بھی فن تصوف سے نہیں۔

(۱۳۸) صفحہ ۲۴۰، نمبر کتاب ۲۹۵۲/۵، فہرست نگار نے اس کتاب کو تصوف کی کتاب سمجھا ہے۔ حالانکہ یہ عربی قصیدہ نعتیہ کا ترجمہ ہے۔ اس کا تصوف سے کوئی تعلق نہیں۔ فہرست نگار جلد اوّل نے اس قصیدہ کی جو چند شرحیں ہیں ان کو ادب، فلسفہ اخلاق و موعظت کے فن میں شامل کیا ہے (جلد اوّل مرآۃ العلوم صفحہ ۱۳۵ - ۱۳۶)

(۱۳۹) صفحہ ۲۴۲، نمبر کتاب ۲۹۵۴/۲، کتاب کا نام رسالہ معین الدین چشتی، اوراق کی تعداد بجائے ۶ کے ۱۲ ہے۔ تاریخ کتابت ۱۱۸۳ھ نہیں بلکہ فصلی ہے۔

(۱۴۰) صفحہ ۲۴۲، نمبر کتاب ۳۹۲۲/۱، نام کتاب رسالہ معین الدین چشتی۔ کاتب کا نام نہیں لکھا۔ اس کا نام بشارت حسین ہے۔ اوراق کتاب کی تعداد بھی بجائے ۵ کے صرف ۴ ہے۔

(۱۴۱) صفحہ ۲۴۳، نمبر کتاب ۹۰۴۹/۴، نام کتاب فوائد المریدین، کیفیت میں اضافہ کیجیے برائے نسخہ دیگر ۲۵۹۱۔

(۱۴۲) صفحہ ۲۴۴، نمبر کتاب ۲۷۷۷/۳، نام کتاب "نان و حلوا"، اس کا اندراج تصوف کے تحت

درست ہے۔ یہ منظوم رسالہ ہے۔ اس کا ایک دوسرا نسخہ مرآۃ العلوم جلد اوّل صفحہ ۱۱ پر کتاب نمبر ۹۱ کے تحت مندرج ہے اور کتب منظومہ میں شامل ہے۔

(۲۲۳) صفحہ ۲۶۴، نمبر کتاب ۳۴۱۱/۵، نام کتاب مکتوبات شیخ شرف الدین احمد بہاری۔ مصنف کے نام کے بجائے زین بدر عربی لکھا ہے۔ یہ مصنف نہ تھے بلکہ مرتب تھے۔ تعداد اوراق فہرست میں ۸ بتائی گئی ہے، حالانکہ صرف ۴½ ہے۔ کتاب کے صرف ابتدائی اوراق ہیں اور مکتوبات صدی کے ہیں۔

(۲۲۴) صفحہ ۲۶۴، نمبر کتاب ۲۵۲۶۔ دیوان سنائی، آصفی، عرفی اور شوکت۔ اس مجموعہ میں دیوان آصفی کا جو انتخاب ہے اس کے صفحات فہرست میں ۱۵ بتلائے گئے ہیں۔ مگر درحقیقت ۲۲ ہیں۔ اسی طرح اس میں دیوان عرفی کے صفحات ۱۴ بتائے گئے ہیں۔ حالانکہ صفحات کی تعداد صرف ۹ ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ حسب ذیل انتخابات دواوین دیگر شعراء بھی ہیں، اگرچہ بہت مختصر ہیں۔ مثلاً انتخاب دیوان وحشی (تین ورق) انتخاب دیوان شفائی (۴ ورق) انتخاب دیوان عالی (۳ ورق)، انتخاب دیوان نجات (۴ ورق)۔ یہ مجلد بہت بوسیدہ ہے اور درست شدہ نہیں۔ اس میں چند مہریں بھی ہیں جو غیر واضح ہیں۔

(۲۲۵) صفحہ ۲۶۴، نمبر کتاب ۲۵۲۷، نام کتاب قصاید ثنائی و قصاید فاریابی۔ فہرست میں قصاید ثنائی لکھا ہے۔ حالانکہ اس میں قصاید کے علاوہ قطعات و رباعیات بھی ہیں۔ دوسری کتاب اسی جلد میں مجلد ہے، اس کا نام قصاید فاریابی لکھا ہے؛ اس میں صرف قصاید نہیں بلکہ اور منظومات بھی ہیں۔ اس کو لکھنا چاہیے تھا۔ کیفیت میں یہ اطلاع بھی ضروری تھی کہ دونوں مجموعے بہت خستہ اور بوسیدہ ہیں۔

(۲۲۶) صفحہ ۲۶۶، نمبر کتاب ۲۷۴۵/۵، ناقص الآخر۔

(۲۲۷) صفحہ ۲۶۷، نمبر کتاب ۲۷۶۲/۱، نام کتاب بہار عرض جوہر۔ فہرست میں مصنف کا نام نہیں لکھا ہے۔ مصنف کا نام رشید الدین خاں دہلوی ہے۔ سطروں کی تعداد فی صفحہ ۱۰ لکھا ہے، حالانکہ مختلف تعداد سطور ہے۔
صفحہ ۲۶۷، نمبر کتاب ۲۷۶۳/۴، نام کتاب 'گہر منظوم'۔ مصنف کا نام فہرست میں نہیں لکھا۔ نام مصنف ابراہیم حسین ہے۔ کاتب کا نام نہیں لکھا۔ کاتب خود مصنف ہے، تعداد اوراق ۲۱ بتائی ہے۔ ۱۱ ہونا چاہیے۔ سطور بھی ۱۰ نہیں، بلکہ ۱۳ ہیں۔

تحائفِ موصولہ

ابوسلمان شاہجہاں پوری : ۹/۱ علیگڑھ کالونی، کراچی ۴۱

(۱) **مولانا محمد علی اور ان کی صحافت** (صفحہ ۴۵۵): بڑا وقیع کام ہے۔ اخبارات کے آغاز و انجام وغیرہ کے ساتھ ادارتی عملے کے بارے میں تحقیق، اور پھر ہمدرد کے مشتملات اور اس کے اداریوں کا افتتاحیہ تیار کر کے بہت سے آئندہ کام کرنے والوں پر بڑا احسان کر گئے ہیں۔ اشاریہ بہت سائینٹفک ہے۔

(۲) **ابوالکلام آزاد بحیثیت مفسر و محدّث** (صفحہ ۱۱۸): اس میں ابوسلمان صاحب کے اپنے علاوہ سعید احمد اکبر آبادی، سید سلیمان ندوی، محمد حنیف ندوی، ڈاکٹر سید عبداللطیف، غلام رسول مہر اور محمد شعیب عمری کے مضامین بھی شامل ہیں۔

(۳) **افادات آزاد** (صفحہ ۱۸۰): دینی اور ادبی موضوعات پر مختلف حضرات کے استفسارات کے جواب میں، مولانا نے جو خطوط لکھے، یہ نکات موضوع وار ان خطوط سے مرتب کیے گئے ہیں۔

(۴) **تاریخ و تحریک پاکستان** (نمودِ سحر سے طلوعِ صبح تک) : مرتبین : ڈاکٹر انصار زاہد، پروفیسر فصیح الدین صدیقی، ڈاکٹر ابوسلمان شاہجہاں پوری۔ (صفحات ۱۸۴)؛ مجلہ علم و آگہی، گورنمنٹ نیشنل کالج کراچی کا خصوصی شمارہ۔

مشتملات :- تاریخ و نظریۂ پاکستان کا مطالعہ۔ ایک قومی ضرورت (پروفیسر سید امتیاز حسین)، پاکستان اور تحریک پاکستان (پروفیسر حسین کاظمی) تحریک پاکستان (پروفیسر کریم علی خاں شیروانی)، پاکستان کے دھندلے تصور سے پاکستان کے نقش جمیل تک (عرشیہ شفقت رضوی)، تحریک پاکستان اور طلبہ (رضوان احمد)؛ نواب بہادر یار جنگ اور تحریک پاکستان (محمد عبدالہادی صدیقی)، اقبال اور نظریۂ پاکستان۔ (ڈاکٹر شفیق علی خاں)، دو قومی نظریہ : تاریخ و تحریک (ڈاکٹر شفیق علی خاں)، دو قومی نظریہ : افکار قائد اعظم (پروفیسر کوثر اقبال)، دو قومی نظریہ (عمر زیدی)، سرسید اور وکٹوریہ کا مجسمہ (ڈاکٹر محمد عبدالعزیز)، سرسید احمد خاں کا دورۂ پنجاب (پروفیسر اکرام علی ملک)، علی گڑھ تحریک کا مذہبی پہلو۔ (محمد عبدالہادی صدیقی)، قائد اعظم اور مسلم لیگ

کی تنظیم نو (ڈاکٹر انصار زاہد)، حاجی شریعت اللہ (مبارک احمد صدیقی)۔

⑤ تحریکاتِ ملی: ——— تحریکات کے آئینے میں: مسلمانان پاک و ہند کی سیاسی جد و جہد کی سرگزشت

مرتبین: ڈاکٹر ابو سلمان شاہجہاں پوری، پروفیسر ڈاکٹر انصار زاہد، پروفیسر فصیح الدین صدیقی (صفحات ۔۔

مشتملات: پیش لفظ (پروفیسر سید امتیاز حسین)، تحریک اصلاح و جہاد (سید حسین حسنی) جنگ آزادی ۱۸۵۷ء (ڈاکٹر محمد ایوب قادری)، فتویٰ جہاد (شاہد حسین خاں)، جاں نثاران جنگ آزادی (سعید حسن قادری)، مہاجرین کابل و یاغستان: سلسلۂ تحریک آزادی (پروفیسر جمال الدین شیخ)، تحریک خدام کعبہ (ڈاکٹر ابو سلمان شاہجہاں پوری)، تحریک خدام کعبہ کی کہانی: شیدائی کعبہ کی زبانی (محمد اقبال شیدائی) خدمت کعبہ - ایک نایاب نظم (علامہ شبلی) • دستور العمل انجمن خدام کعبہ • تحریک ریشمی رومال • چند ریشمی خطوط (عکس)، تحریک ہجرت: (ڈاکٹر معین الدین عقیل)، رسالہ ہجرت (مولانا عبد الباری فرنگی محلی) (ڈاکٹر ابو سلمان شاہجہاں پوری) • تحریک خلافت • مسئلہ خلافت • خلافت • ترک موالات۔ فلسفہ اور عقیدہ یا حکمت عملی • ترک موالات کے پروگرام پر عمل • خلافت کانفرنس اور دیگر اہم واقعات • تحریک خلافت اور تعلیمی ادارے (ڈاکٹر انصار زاہد) • تعلیم اور ترک موالات • ترک موالات کا خاتمہ • اجمالی فہرست تارکین عہدہ و مناصب و اعزازات • جمعیت مرکزیہ خلافت ہند۔ تاریخ قیام و مقاصد • دستور اساسی جمعیت خلافت ہند (ڈاکٹر ابو سلمان شاہجہاں پوری)، ترک موالات پر علما کے فتاویٰ (مولانا عبد الماجد قادری بدایونی)، متفقہ فتویٰ علمائے ہند (مولانا ابو المحاسن محمد سجاد)۔

اپنے موضوع پر بڑی وزنی کتاب ہے، جو حوالے کے لیے استعمال ہو سکے گی۔

(صفحات ۱۳۸)

⑥ مولانا ابو الکلام آزاد (بحیثیت مفسر و محدث) از ڈاکٹر ابو سلمان شاہجہاں پوری

• **نظیر صدیقی** (علامہ اقبال اوپن یونیورسٹی، اسلام آباد (پاکستان)

① اردو ادب کے مغربی دریچے (تنقیدی مضامین کا مجموعہ) صفحات ۲۲۲ ۱۹۸۳ء

مشتملات: حرف اول۔ اظہار یا ابلاغ ـــ اردو ادب اور شعرۂ اردو - جدید شاعری کی جدید ترین شکلیں۔ جدید شاعری کا برطانوی رُخ، کولین ولسن۔ ایک تعارف۔ یون ڈی

② تفہیم و تعبیر (تنقیدی مضامین کا مجموعہ) صفحات ۲۸۷، ۱۹۸۳ء

مشتملات: گزارش احوال واقعی۔ غالب کی فن کارانہ ہمہ گیری۔ غالب کے بعض اشعار،

کلام غالب کے نکتہ چین ، اقبال کی شاعری میں انسانی عظمت کا تصور ، اقبال ایک شاعر، مصطفیٰ زیدی کی شاعری ، جمیل مظہری ، آوازِ دوست ۔ پروین شاکر : زخم جگر سے نقشِ ہنر تک کا ایک سفر، ادب ، امن اور جنگ ، فانوس کی گردش سے کیا کیا نظر آتا ہے ۔ ثقافت اور اس کے عوامل ، بیرونی اثرات ۔

(۳) **میرے خیال میں** (تنقیدی مضامین کا مجموعہ) صفحات ۳۶۲ ، ۱۹۶۸ء

مشتملات :- برسبیل تذکرہ ۔ اظہار یا ابلاغ ، اردو غزل کدھر ۔ اردو ادب اور شعبۂ اردو ۔ اردو تنقید میں نئی اخلاقیات کی ضرورت ۔ میرؔ ، ماضی سے مستقبل تک ۔ اقبال پر چند خیالات ۔ نیاز فتحپوری ۔ فراق گورکھپوری ۔ حسن عسکری ۔ محبوب خزاں ۔ مشتاق احمد یوسفی ۔ ضیا جالندھری : نارسا کی روشنی میں ۔ نئی نظم اور پورا آدمی ۔ سلیم احمد کی بیاض ۔ چند مضامین اس میں اور غریبی دریچے میں مشترک ہیں ۔

(۴) **تاثرات و تعصبات** (تنقیدی مضامین کا مجموعہ) صفحات ۲۹۰ ، ۱۹۷۶ء

مشتملات :- اعترافات ۔ یگانہ چنگیزی ۔ فراق گورکھپوری ، فیض احمد فیض ۔ جمیل الدین عالی ، اجتبیٰ رضوی ۔ جگر مراد آبادی ۔ کہتی ہے ان کو خلقِ خدا غائبانہ کیا ۔ رشید احمد صدیقی ۔ گنجے فرشتے ۔ کچھ اپنی صفائی میں ۔

○ **سرسید کی کہانی ان کی اپنی زبانی** : صفحات ۱۰۵ ، از ضیاء الدین لاہوری ۔

ضیاء الدین لاہوری کا کتابچہ سرسید کے بارے میں دلچسپی سے پڑھا جائے گا ۔ صفحہ ۳۱ تک ابوسلمان شاہجہاں پوری کا مقدمہ ہے اور بقیہ کتاب کا متن ہے ۔ مقدمہ اہم ہے ، اس لئے اسے بھی ابوسلمان صاحب کی تحریروں کے ذیل میں رکھا گیا ہے ۔ یہ مقدمہ اس لئے زیادہ اہمیت اختیار کر گیا ہے کہ اس میں روایت سے یکسر انحراف کرتے ہوئے بالکل نئے زاویۂ نظر سے سرسید کی شخصیت اور ان کے کارناموں کا جائزہ لیا گیا ہے ۔ کتاب کے "پیش لفظ" میں مؤلف موصوف نے اس مقدمہ پر رائے زنی کرتے ہوئے صحیح لکھا ہے کہ : "یہ بات یقینی ہے کہ ان کے بیان کردہ جملہ حقائق سرسید کے شیدائیوں کے لئے کسی صورت قابلِ قبول نہیں ہو سکتے ۔ کیونکہ انشا پردازی کے شوق میں لکھے گئے مضامین کی پُرفریب تحریریں ان حضرات کے ذہنوں پر اس قدر مسلط ہو چکی ہیں کہ حقائق کو تسلیم کرنا ان کے بس کا روگ نہیں رہا ۔"

جناب زید ابوالحسن فاروقی کی تصنیفات

(پتہ: خانقاہ ابوالخیر، ابوالخیر مارگ چتلی قبر، دہلی)

(۱) حضرت مجدد اور ان کے ناقدین) حضرت مجدد اینڈ ہز کریٹکس۔ اردو سے ترجمہ از میرزا ہد علی کامل ۱۹۸۲ء صفحات ۲۸۰ — یہ کتاب اردو میں کئی سال قبل شائع ہوئی تھی۔ اس میں خصوصیت سے ڈاکٹر اطہر عباس رضوی اور پروفیسر محمد مجیب کی تنقیدوں کا جائزہ لیا گیا ہے۔

(۲) علامہ ابن تیمیہ اور ان کے ہمعصر علماء۔ ۱۹۸۱ء صفحات ۱۳۲ — پہلی بار یہ کتاب ۱۹۶۷ء میں تصنیف ہوئی اور ۱۹۷۵ء میں شائع ہوئی۔ یہ اس کتاب کا دوسرا ایڈیشن ہے۔

(۳) - مولانا اسماعیل دہلوی اور تقویۃ الایمان صفحات ۱۴۰ ۱۹۸۰ء

(۴) - "اسلام اور فیملی پلاننگ (مسئلہ ضبط ولادت)" صفحات ۹۶، ۱۹۷۶ء تیسرا ایڈیشن — از روئے شرع ضبط ولادت کی اجازت ہے یا نہیں؟ یہ کتاب اسی استفتاء کے جواب میں ہے اور مصنف کی رائے اس کے حق میں ہے۔

(۵) "منہج الاولیاء، فی السلام علی الانبیاء والرضا عن الاولیاء" صفحات [illegible] انبیاء علیہم السلام کے علاوہ دوسرے حضرات کے لئے صلوٰۃ وسلام کا مسئلہ۔

(۶) - "مقامات خیر" صفحات ۸۰۰ — حضرت شاہ ابوالخیر عبداللہ محی الدین فاروقی مجددی دہلوی قدس سرہٗ کے مبارک احوال اور آپ کے علم وفضل وکمال و ذوق سخن کا تفصیلی تذکرہ۔ شروع میں حضرت امام ربانی مجدد الف ثانی قدس سرہٗ تک آپ کے آباء کرام کا اور آخر میں آپ کے خلفا اور اولاد کا مختصر بیان۔

— اردو ہی نہیں، کسی بھی زبان میں ان موضوعات پر ان سے بہتر کتابیں ابھی لکھی جانی باقی ہیں۔ کتابوں کے مطالعہ سے اندازہ ہوتا ہے کہ اپنے موضوع کا سیر حاصل مطالعہ کر کے سارے گوشوں کا احاطہ کرنے کے بعد ہی مصنف قلم اٹھاتے ہیں۔ اب آپ ان کے نقطۂ نظر سے اتفاق کریں یا اختلاف لیکن یہ کتابیں پڑھ کر آپ ان کے دلائل کی مضبوطی اور ان کی نظر کی گہرائی کے قائل ضرور ہو جائیں گے۔

کتاب شناسی

مجموعۂ مقالات

ایک عرصہ سے کتاب دوست حلقے میں یہ محسوس کیا جا رہا ہے کہ یہاں مستقل او
مدون صورت میں علمی اور تحقیقی سطح پر کتاب شناسی پر مواد شائع نہیں ہوتا ہے
اس ضرورت کا احساس کرتے ہوئے کتاب شناسی کے نام سے ایک مجموعۂ مقالا
کی اشاعت پیش نظر ہے۔ جس میں ہر سال کتاب سے متعلق تین بڑے موضوعات پر کتاب شناسی
کے تحقیقی مضامین شائع ہوا کریں گے۔ موضوعات کی تقسیم اور تفصیل یہ ہے :-

(۱) کتاب سازی :

تصنیف، تالیف، تدوین، تصحیح، ترجمہ، رسم الخط، خطاطی، املا، قلم تراشی، تذہیب
روشنائی سازی، کاغذ سازی، جلد بندی اور چھپائی وغیرہ پر مباحث۔

(۲) کتاب شناسی :

(الف) مخطوطات شناسی : موجودہ کمیاب اہم مخطوطات کا مفصل تعارف

(ب) مطبوعات شناسی : برصغیر پاک و ہند سے متعلق تاریخ، تذکرہ، اسلامی
ثقافت اور کتاب شناسی پر چھپنے والی کتابوں کا مختصر تعارف اور ان میں سے منتخب کتابوں پر مفصل

(۳) کتاب داری :

(الف) کتب کی حفاظت اور استفادہ کے مسائل۔

(ب) ذاتی کتب خانے اور ان کی تخصیص۔

چونکہ آپ کتابی مسائل پر صاحب نظر ہیں اس لئے مجوزہ منصوبہ پر آپ کی صائب رائے
لئے مفید ثابت ہوگی۔ ہم آپ کو کسی ایک موضوع پر لکھنے کی زحمت بھی دیں گے۔

رابطہ کے لئے :- (۱) اختر راہی - لوہر ترنو - براہ واہ چھاؤنی ضلع راولپنڈی
(۲) سید عارف نوشاہی - ۴۶ - اے سیٹلائٹ ٹاؤن - راولپنڈی
ٹیلیفون ۸۴۳۲۶۸

LONDON:
PRINTED BY J. L. COX, GREAT QUEEN STREET,
1829.

Printed at Liberty Art Press, 1528-Pataudi House,
Darya Ganj, New Delhi-110002

and to commit every species of enormity against their fellow subjects. Upon this I directed Mohaubet Khaun, a mûnsebdaur (or dignitary) of my court of the order of five thousand, to proceed immediately to that quarter, with twenty thousand horse of various descriptions, ten thousand camel-mounted matchlockmen, and two hundred elephants of the fiercest class. The origin of this mischief was Allahdaud Khaun, formerly mentioned, a personage of the first distinction among the Afghan tribes, who had withdrawn from my court without the slightest cause, and had now made his appearance in the neighbourhood of Kabûl. My instructions to Mohaubet Khaun, therefore, were, in the event of his being able to lay hold of this person, to send him at all hazard alive to court, in order that he might receive in my very presence the chastisement due to his ingratitude, and thus furnish to the world an example that none would be permitted with impunity to abscond from my presence on every vague and frivolous pretence.

Thus abruptly terminates the Imperial auto-biographer's Memoirs.

me the next morning that nearly ten thousand elephants, camels, and horse had perished during the night, belonging to the impèrial stables alone, inde pendently of what belonged to the army in general. Blessed be God, for the greatest heats of the dry season! for never, in the very hottest temperature, was there an instance of such extensive destruction at one time. The oldest and most experienced men present united in declaring, that in all they had seen at different times, and in every variety of season, it did not occur to them ever to have witnessed such severity of cold as that which this year had proved so de structive, on hill and plain, to so many animals of every description.

At the foot of the mountains of Kashmeir the snow fell without intermission for seven days and seven nights, and fuel of any description was not to be pro cured. The army was accompanied by fakeirs, or religious mendicants, in extra ordinary numbers, and as they must have perished if not preserved by some immediate intervention, I ordered a lak of camels belonging to the imper equipment to be employed forthwith in conveying such fuel as could be procured at a distance, to camp, and these fakeirs to be supplied from the ve first convoy, otherwise their destruction would have been inevitable. I furth directed that each mendicant should be furnished on the occasion with a v stuffed with cotton, and a sheep-skin cloak.

As soon as the snowy weather had abated, I gave permission to such of t dignitaries and private stipendiaries as were so inclined, to return to Lahour; it suited but little with my views to expose my people on any occasion to un quired hardship. Then with such of my store department and artificers, a three hundred of those who usually attended my person, and who indeed w never separated from me, I continued my journey toward Kashmeir, the c abating in a considerable degree as soon as we had passed the mountain fronti There, among its saffron plains, I proceeded to amuse myself in hunting a shooting, and in excursions to different parts of this delightful valley, for t period of a month, at the expiration of which I adopted the resolution of retu ing to Lahour, which I was desirous of revisiting on my way to the metropo Seven years had now elapsed since I last left that city; and I had then giv orders to throw down the principal towers, and to rebuild them of red hewn sto in great part sculptured with the figures of different animals. I had moreo directed a four-walled garden to be completed on the banks of the Rauvy, in neighbourhood of the town.

When I had, however, proceeded a day's journey from Kashmeir, intellige arrived from Kabûl, stating that the turbulent and factious natives of t province had again thrown off restraint, and were beginning to infest the ro

Deprived of the roses of thy countenance, how deep, alas, the anguish of soul!—Thy cruel loss has planted a thousand thorns in my bosom! Whilst wert present, the cheerful earth was like a garden of tulips; but the winds of separation have transferred to my heart the blood-drop tints of that flower. For ever hidden from mine eyes is the dimple of that cheek: those eyes the lustre of which has been so sadly dimmed with tears. How has the happiness which I enjoyed in thy society been changed to sorrow and sleepless anguish! Torn as thou hast been from my presence, whom have I left to share my thoughts! Alas! none but the silent tear which lodges in my bosom. Directed by the hand of Destiny, the death-shaft has transfixed thee; but the wound inflicted by the same hath not left me unharmed. What rose in the garden was so blooming as thyself? Alas, that the death-blow should have so scattered its leaves!—Far more dearly cherished than Joseph by his father; alas, that thou shouldest have thus early become the prey of the all-devouring monster! For the beauty that beamed on thy brows, an hundred and hundred times, alas!—for thy kind and gentle manners, a thousand times, alas! The spring is come—in the garden buds the rose: to me, alas! the spring has only brought the plant of sorrow—the tree of mourning. The image of thy perfections is for ever stamped within my breast; the lustre of thy beauty will never be lost to mine eyes. Thy life was only budding from the stem; alas! that it should have been so prematurely blighted by the hand of death!—Alas, for thy love, thou star of the meridian of affection!—Alas, for thy blooming youth, thou cypress with the cheek of the rose!—Alas, that the lustre in thine eye should have been so early quenched in death; that thy blooming cheek should have been so unseasonably lost in the clouds of ever-lasting night!"*

Without enlarging further on a subject to me so painful, I sent nearly a thousand of the best swimmers into the river, in the hope of recovering the lifeless body of the young Mirza, in order to give it the last mournful proofs of my affection; but all search proved in vain. What became of his poor remains was never discovered. But this is not all that I have to record of this fatal river. Impatient of restraint, the unreflecting multitude plunged in heedless throngs into the stream, and perished to the number of fifty thousand persons, not having the common sense to wait until the waters should have subsided. The ... on the banks of the river was, moreover, so severe, that it was reported to me

* These lines within the inverted commas might be safely omitted without embarrassing the subject, because, though pathetic enough in the original, they have rather a grotesque character in English.

and baggage to the opposite side; and others, who possessed horses of sufficie strength nd activity, cast themselves into the stream without reflection.

Thus it was that the son of Mirza Rûstum, a little boy scarcely out of i childhood. mistaking the ford, cast himself, with ten of his attendants on hors back, into the river, where the water was two spears length deep, and the cu rent so impetuous as to overthrow the strongest elephants. In the middle the stream the boy was thrown from his horse, and carried away by the to rent; and although every exertion was made by his attendants to rescue hi from his watery grave, all was in vain, the poor child perished irrecoverabl The young Mirza had not the slightest knowledge of swimming; but ev though he had possessed the greatest skill in the exercise, the force of t stream was such that it would have been unavailing. The ten men who e deavoured to save him also perished.

When the melancholy circumstance was made known to me, I can scarce describe how deeply I became affected by it. The whole of that night I ne ther ate, nor drank, nor slept; for my regard for the poor child surpassed ordinary measure of kindness. Most commonly, when I mounted my elephan he was my companion. and, seated before me with the keeper's hook in his han usually guided the animal in his course. He was, indeed, endowed in eve respect with a capacity far beyond his years. A period of six months only ha elapsed, since I had married him to a daughter of Ettemaud-ud-Doulah,* with marriage portion, amounting, in different articles, to the value of twenty laks five methkaly ashrefies.† He seemed, in every respect, the reverse of his fath brother, and other relatives; and I had recently adopted him as a child of my ow In the severest terms I could express, I reproached his improvident father, having suffered the child to enter the river on horseback; for which there did n appear the slightest apology, since he had an equipment of fifty or a hundr elephants in his own train. But there seemed to exist some fatal necessity th demanded a victim to be sacrificed of such surpassing purity and excellen Doubtless this poor child might be justly said to be a second Joseph. Nev have I mourned so deeply for the death of any one, as for that of the son Mirza Rûstum. The following lines may furnish some faint idea of what endured on the occasion:

"Depriv

* A half-sister, probably, of Nour Jahaun.

† At nine rupees to the ashrefy, this would be one krour and eighty laks of rupees; at fi rupees to the same, it would amount to three krour of rupees, or three millions sterling. I have been able finally to determine which of these valuations is to be assigned to the ashrefy. The would be exactly rendered in English by the word *noble*; a name not unknown to the English mint

...ld and silver ashrefies and rupees among the people, to the amount of ...ks of rupees in silver, equivalent to thirty thousand tomauns of Irák, and ... laks of ashrefies of five methkels, equal to one hundred thousand tomauns ...*

...this splendid array it was that Shahzadah Khoorum proceeded to the banks ... Raavy, where a superb display of tents had been set up for his reception; ...there he remained for the space of three days, distributing to the minstrels, ...ns of song and music, and others who repaired to visit him, and to all ...ding to merit, the most liberal marks of his bounty. On the fourth day he ...ed Lahour, in order to return to my presence.

...om Lahour to Hussun Abdal, where I lay encamped to await his return, is ...tance of five ordinary days' journey.† This, by stationing relays of fresh ...s, he performed in one day and a night, thus presenting himself to me ...n the ten days' absence which he had obtained for his excursion. On this ...sion, when he had performed his kornesh (or salutation of homage) before ... his present consisted of jewels to the value of twenty laks of rupees, with ... hundred horses of Arabia and Irák, one thousand despatch camels, and ... of the noblest class of elephants, each of the value of three laks of rupees. ...turn, I raised him from the order of forty thousand, of which he was already ...possession, to that of forty-five thousand. I remained at Hussun Abdal for a ...k, during which, at an entertainment, I presented Shahzadah Khoorum ...h a chaplet of pearl, which had cost in the purchase the sum of eight and ...y laks of rupees.‡

When I gave orders for the march from Hussun Abdal a heavy fall of rain ...curred, which continued without intermission for three days and three nights; ...t the termination of which the rain ceasing, we proceeded to Kalanour, where, ...wever, the river was so greatly swelled by the rain, that the passage of the ...perial troops was found impracticable. The next day I gave orders that all ...sses on their arrival should remain stationary until the flood in the river should ...ate, when they might proceed to cross without hazard. Nevertheless, all who ...re in possession of the largest sized elephants ventured to pass their people and

* If this statement be correct, two laks of ashrefies would be equal to Rupees 3,333,333⅓, the half of which being rupees 1,666,666⅔, would give something more than sixteen rupees to the ashrefy. I had ... told in India, that the ashrefy and the gold mohr were the same thing.

† Hussun Abdal is a considerable distance to the west of Kalanour, and the Emperor must ... gone far out of his way, and then returned to the latter place, which is more in the direct road ... the pass of Bember.

‡ Nearly half a million sterling.

since he last saw the place, and he was desirous of embracing the opportunity to view the progress of the new gardens, buildings, and other improvement which I had ordered for its embellishment. He engaged at the same time to rejoin me on the march before I should have entered the mountain passes.

As I could have no objection to grant such a request, and I was desirous tha his visit should be conducted with sufficient splendor, the prince was directed t take with him two hundred camels loaded with enriched caparisons, girdle kreisses, swords, and head-pieces, minns,* and amberstands, and a variety c other articles, all enriched with pearl and precious stones; all of which, on hi arrival within a certain distance of the city, he was to deliver to the kotewaul, c civil governor of the place, together with as much as loaded a thousand camel more in cloth of gold of Khorassaun, velvets from Gûjerat and Kashaun, an piece-goods of the most delicate fabric, all taken immediately from my ow equipment stores. The inhabitants of Lahour were directed to afford ever assistance towards rendering the reception of the prince on this occasion as mag nificent as possible, by decorating the streets and bazars with gold woven carpet figured draperies or tapestry, both European and Chinese, and canopies also c cloth of gold, both within and without the city, to the distance of nearl four kôsse. All this the kotewaul was to keep in readiness for the space of four c five days.

From Allumgunje, which is at the entrance of Lahour, and where Sûlta Khoorum was to mount his elephant, he was to be preceded by three thousar elephants of his own train, all arrayed in trappings of gold and velvet embroi dered with pearl, the gold alone on each elephant being of the weight of fi maunns of Hindûstaun; next were fifteen hundred horses of the breed of Arabi Irâk, and Badakhshaun, all in similar rich and sumptuous caparisons, and ea led by a separate groom. Behind the prince were to follow forty elephants bea ing the nuggaurah khaunah, or band of kettle-drums, and immediately befo him were to be eighty horns and fifty trumpets, rending the air with the din martial music; the whole being closed by a column of twenty thousand hors clad in quilted mail, with silken tassels at the end of their lances, and all the horses with ornamental breast-pieces, housings of panther and tyger skins, ar tails of the sea-cow suspended to their necks; and in this splendid array was be the procession through the streets and market-places of the city. The whe of the way by which the dûltaor passed accordingly, for the distance of fo kôsse, from bags of money deposited in the howdah of the elephant on which he rode, he continued to scatter, every now and then, on each side of him, handf

* Tchaur ayenah, perhaps glass lanterns.

[fou]rteen years past, has remitted the impost of the zekkaut, dared to insinuate [th]e advantage of renewing such a tax, and thus bringing upon the benefactor of [h]is people afresh the odium of being their oppressor. Let this be an example to [det]er the evil counsellor from communicating the slightest hint to give the [th]oughts of the sovereign a direction so replete with evil to the subject and [d]ishonour to himself.*

It must indeed be considered fortunate, that in this age few men can be found [s]o sordid in principle and expectation, as from the prospect of advantage to [th]emselves, to implicate the sovereign under such a load of guilt and responsi[bil]ity, from whom alone, on the awful day of reckoning, the account will be [re]quired. And what in gold or jewels, or property of any description, have I [n]ot, that I should venture to reimburse myself in the earnings of the abstinent [an]d industrious merchant—earnings accumulated through a thousand risks, and [b]y so many distant and toilsome journies? An act of such crying injustice could [th]e everlasting God suffer to pass unpunished? Leaving the issue to God," [sa]ys the maxim, "be thou the shepherd of his people." There are two faculties [o]f which the Macedonian himself was scarcely master :—"Discard the absurdi[tie]s of human vanity; this is the ark of knowledge.—Study the knowledge of [th]y kind; not the patchwork mantle of the devotee.—In a life so transient, suffer [no]t thine exertions to sleep.—Let thy time be so devoted, as to insure the [a]pprobation of thy Maker.—Humanity is the essential science, united with [v]alour and beneficence.—If thou hast not these, thou art no more than a statue [i]n the shape of a man.—Thou hast not put in practice the hundredth part of [t]he dictates of science.—If in the study of philosophy thou hast neglected [t]he duties of thy kind, thou art nothing better than a barren branch.—With [m]uch labour and exertion only can a man arrive at distinction.—How canst [t]hou obtain the palm of virtue, if thou art the slave of sensuality.—If thou [a]rt desirous of the elixir of eternal happiness, know thine own merit; this is the [t]rue red sulphur—the powder of transmutation."

When I had passed a week in every species of enjoyment in these gardens, I [s]ent for Khojah Weissy, and with one of my own dresses presented him with [t]hirty thousand rupees in money. I then quitted Sehrind, and proceeded on my [w]ay towards Kashmeir, the saffron meads of which I so ardently longed to visit. Having arrived within three days' journey of the city of Lahour, my son Khoorum [c]ommunicated a request, that he might be allowed an absence of ten days, for [t]he purpose of visiting that noble city, a period of two years having elapsed since

* As the exemption from zekkaut took place either at or soon after the accession of Jahangueir, [t]he excursion to Kashmeir is clearly fixed to the fourteenth year of his reign.

inhabitants of Sehrind, quitted my presence accordingly; and shortly afterwards re-appeared, bringing with him the whole of the gold, loaded on five hundred camels, each load in wrappers of the finest scarlet of Irák. I ordered ten of the loads to be indiscriminately distributed among those who were present, and the remainder to be lodged in the treasury; after which I desired him to withdraw for the present, and to appear before me again on the ensuing morning, when the patent of his appointment would be delivered to him.

The next morning, before the sun was well up, the collector, arrayed in his gayest apparel, with a chaplet of pearl about his neck of the value of a lak of rupees, and his bosom full of hope and expectation, came to do homage for his appointment. I requested to know whether the whole of the gold which he had placed at my disposal, as the purchase of his office, was exclusively his own property, or whether it belonged in part to other Hindûs, who would have a share in the profits of his employment. He explained to me in answer, that while in the agonies of death, his father had disclosed to him that in a certain secret place under ground he had concealed in large jars a mass of treasure, which in the hour of distress he might employ to relieve himself. "Sire," said he, "than what I have paid into your highness's treasury for my appointment, there is still left in the subterranean more than double the quantity, and there was therefore not the smallest necessity for bringing discredit on my name by borrowing." I could scarcely believe what I heard, and I bluntly told him that I thought he had advanced a falsehood; but if what he said was really true, he could have no objection to point out the spot where this treasure was concealed to Saadek Mahommed Khaun, one of my bukhshies. Without a moment's hesitation he conducted Saadek Mahommed to the place where his enormous treasure lay in deposit; and having so done, both returned to my presence. I considered that I was warranted in retaining for my own use what he had voluntarily placed at my disposal; but it would have been an act of unjust violence if I had taken possession of that which remained in the excavation beneath his house, to the manifest injury of his children.

In these circumstances, I ordered a camel to be brought to my presence, and sending for Nour-ud-dein Kúly, I told him that the dress of the Hindû, with the valuable chaplet of pearl which encircled his neck, was all his own. But he was to conduct the unhappy man to the outside of the town, where he was to cause his bowels to be cut open, after which he was to be fastened to the side of the camel and so carried round the camp, while a proclamation was made to the following purpose: "Such is the punishment to which that man is doomed, who when his sovereign from a paternal regard to the welfare of his people for a period of fourteen

that on entering the garden I found myself immediately in a covered avenue, planted on each side with scarlet roses, and beyond them arose groves of cypress, plane, and evergreens, variously disposed; but, what is scarcely credible, all this had been completed in the short space of forty days. Passing through these, we entered what was in reality the garden, which now exhibited a variegated parterre, ornamented with flowers of the utmost brilliancy of colours, and of the choicest kind. In the midst of this open parterre was a noble basin or reservoir of water, and in the centre of this piece of water was an elegant and lofty pavilion, of eight sides, capable of accommodating two hundred persons with convenient sitting-room, and surrounded by a beautiful colonnade. It was, moreover, two stories high, and painted all over within with every description of figure delightful to the eye. The reservoir was faced all round with hewn stone, and nearly two thousand water-fowl sported on its bosom. The infinite variety of flowers and flowering shrubs which bloomed on the parterre was not less delightful to the sight than bewitching to the smell: and as some acknowledgment of the gratification which I had experienced, I raised the same Khojah Wyssy, on the spot, from the order of seven hundred to that of one thousand horse.

The day after my visit to these gardens, a circumstance occurred which I cannot pass without notice. It was stated to me that the collector of Sehrind held in his hands a petition which he was anxious to present to me, and I directed that he might be immediately sent for. The petition expressed that this collector did not entertain the design of interfering in any way with the property of the Moslems; on the contrary, his object was confined to the fixing of a fair and equitable assessment upon the wealth of the opulent Hindûs. For this purpose, if I could be prevailed upon to issue an ordinance in conformity with his views, he would engage to make good to the imperial treasury the zekkaut of the empire, such as it was in the time of my father Akbar, to the amount of three maunns of gold a day; and, moreover, that he would pay in advance the assessment of three whole years, amounting to not less than thirteeen hundred maunns of gold.* When I had heard with attention what he had further to say on the subject, I desired him to go and bring me the money, in order that I might bestow upon him the employment for which he seemed disposed to make such enormous sacrifices. The collector, who was known to be among the most opulent of the inhabitants

* One lunar year's assessment, at three hundred maunns a day, would be 1,062 maunns: and an assessment of three years would amount to 3,186 maunns of gold, or about forty-four tons and six hundred-weight. Three hundred camels, with a load of three hundred each, would bring forty-five tons, which at sixty-three guineas to the pound-weight of gold, would be equal to 5,670,000 guineas.

from the camp of Abdullah Khaun above-mentioned, that commander ha neglected to pay him that visit of respect, to which as my son he considere himself entitled. I informed him, however, in reply, that in omitting to thro himself in the way for the mere purpose of flattering his vanity, Abdullah Khau nad acted in strict conformity with his allegiance as a dutiful subject: for ha he done otherwise, most assuredly he would have been sent to atone for his of ciousness and folly by an imprisonment of thirty good years in the castle Gualiar. Neither can I omit to observe that, however Shahzadah Parveiz may ha been offended, there was nothing in the mere gratification of a childish vanity justify the smallest delay in the march of Abdullah Khaun, whose conduct w governed by the strictest propriety.

While I remained in the precincts of Dehly, at the period to which I sha now return, they described to me a species of feathered game, with tails of particular description, and the flesh of which was of a flavour in the highe degree delicious. But what more particularly attracted my curiosity was, th they spoke a language known to none but to the natives of Kashmeir, who, i using a sort of note or call, took from them the power of flight; and who we thus able to catch them by thousands at a time. On a plain in the neighbou hood, frequented by thousands of these birds in a flock, by way of experime I employed about a thousand of the Kashmeirians accustomed to the busine to give me a proof of their skill, and I attended in person to view the sport. A had been represented to me, about twenty of the Kashmeirians collected togeth and produced a sort of murmuring sound, which attracting the attention of the birds, they were drawn by degrees within such a distance of the men, that th were taken in entire flocks. My pity was greatly moved by the reflection th these harmless birds should have fallen victims to this sort of treachery; th they should have been betrayed into the hands of the destroyer by their irres tible love of harmonious sounds, and that I should be found capable of consigni them to slaughter from a mere idle and vicious curiosity; the next day, ther fore, I caused the whole, to the number of twenty thousand birds which ha been taken on the occasion, to be set at liberty. My object was obtained witnessing the fact, but to have seen them slaughtered would have bespoken want of compassion foreign to my nature.

On my arrival at Sehrind, I visited the gardens of Khojah Weissy, construct some time before by my directions. This person, distinguished not less for skill in architecture than for his taste in laying out gardens and ornamen grounds, had indeed, in the present instance, exercised his judgment with su complete success, as to afford me the utmost delight. In particular I must describ th

...e abode was at Dehly. Upon this proof of the faculty which he possessed ...ing into the minds of man, my faith in his piety was increased an hundred-... I turned round on the spot towards the cell of the recluse, and prostrate ...the earth, besought the influence of his sacred character, to strengthen my ...pes for future exertion.

...e circumstance more and I shall dismiss this subject altogether. When I ...ned to the imperial encampment, after quitting the abode of the recluse, it ...s communicated to me that the son of Khaun-e-Douraun had dared to turn ...o ridicule my conduct on this occasion. "How childish," said he, "in the ...peror, to be magic-blinded by his visit to this canting derweish!" I must ...o observe, that if I had not received the proof to which I have referred of ...power of penetrating into the secrets of the mind, the miracle of the golden ...r would have found but little credit with me; but the disrespectful lan-...ge in which this person presumed to express himself could not be entirely ...looked: I therefore commanded that one side of his head and face should ...flayed of the skin, and in that state he was led round the encampment, ...amation being made at the same time that such was the punishment which ...ted those who dared to apply disrespectful language to him, who was at ...their sovereign and benefactor. My severity on this occasion seemed to ...further warranted by the fact, that this same son of Khaun-e-Douraun, on a ...ous visit to the derweish, had demeaned himself very contemptuously; and ...derweish resenting such conduct, ventured to tell him that he should not ...so far as to take his head, his youth and rashness being beneath his notice, ...," said he, "I will have thee scalped." And thus was the saying of the ...rweish pointedly fulfilled. In truth, persons of this description have at all ...s a claim to our respect; for although devout and pious men possess no ...m to be considered as divinities, yet are they not very far apart from the ...ty.

At Muttra my son Parveiz separated from the imperial army, and proceeded ...my orders to his government of Allahabad. At first, as in the case of ...ers, he had been invested with the order of two thousand, but I had finally ...anced him to the commandery of twenty thousand horse: and here I think ...no more than strict justice to record, that whether present or absent, never ...any occasion have I experienced from him the slightest cause of offence; and ...annot therefore but express my earnest hope, that in all his pursuits he may ...erience the full attainment of all his wishes. One very trifling exception I ...y be allowed to introduce. Soon after his departure on this occasion, he ...veyed a complaint to me, that having arrived at the distance of two marches from

which consumes the broken-hearted. Be not at one time a trifler, at anothe grave. Art thou full? give not words of wind. Be not evil-minded lest thy word be evil; be not slanderous if thou wouldst avoid a name of reproach." When h had concluded his recital he said, " let thy treatment of thine eldest son b something better than he has recently experienced, for he is destined to be th successor."*

In about an hour afterwards the evening closed in upon us, and one of th derweishes in attendance gave the call to prayer. Some tapers were lighted up and the venerable recluse proceeded to the performance of his devotion bending his body at intervals eight times to the earth. Immediately afterward five of the ministering derweishes entered, and stood in an erect posture befor their principal. The latter raised his hands towards heaven, and he ha scarcely commenced this act of adoration, when all at once a shower of gol from the sky, in laminæ† of about one methkal in weight, fell upon his head which when collected together amounted in the whole to the value of seve hundred ashrefies. This he divided into two equal parts; one of which h presented to me, with the desire that for a blessing upon my treasury it might b distributed among my officers of revenue; the other he shared among the der weishes present at our conference. Having attentively witnessed all tha passed, I did not omit to apprize the recluse, that I should endow his cloiste with the assignment of a village producing an annual revenue of fifty thousan rupees, for the subsistence of the devout men who attended upon him " Apply this money," said he, " to the support of those whose reliance is upo human charity; I need it not, for the things of this life are no longer object either of care or anxiety to me."‡

Without enlarging further on the subject, I took leave of the recluse; bu when I had proceeded a short distance from the cave (or perhaps grotto) i which he resided, the thought occurred to me that I ought to have kissed hi hand on departure: and at the very instant the idea was crossing my mind, on of the attendant derweishes came from his principal, with his salutation of peace to say that he was aware of my thoughts; that he had accepted of the will fo the deed, and that it would be inauspicious to return upon my steps after pro ceeding so far. He had only one further request to make, that for his sake I would extend my particular protection to a certain derweish of his acquaintance, whose

* The derweish proved a false prophet: the elder son, Khossrou, was assassinated by his brother Khoorum, afterwards Shah Jehan.

† Mûtellees is the word in the original: 'flattened pieces or flakes.'

‡ This passage is given in a great measure from conjecture, for the manuscript here, as well as elsewhere in many parts, is written with great negligence and obscurity.

part of my harram left in the metropolis. His son-in-law, Baba Meiret, a old man, who had eminently signalized his courage on many occasions, particularly on the frontiers of Kabul, where he received ten separate wounds, although not before he had contrived to strike off forty of the enemy's heads, was now selected by me to discharge the duties of kotewaul (or prefect of police) of the city of Agrah.

In quitting the metropolis on the present occasion, on board of my flotilla on the Jumnah, I was accompanied by four hundred of the inmates of my harram. Occasionally we came to a spot which furnished game and sport of different kinds, and here I usually disembarked to amuse myself in hunting or shooting; the army which was to accompany us into Kashmeir proceeding all the while in a parallel line, at the distance of three farsangs from the banks of the river.

In our voyage up the Jumnah, when we reached Muttra, which is a celebrated sanctuary of the Hindûs, it was reported to me that there lived in the neighbourhood, where he had resided for twenty years, a noted derweish, or recluse, on whose head, it was stated, there fell every Friday during throughout the year, from the skies, a shower of gold of coined ashrefies of two methkals each, to the number of five hundred ashrefies. As this was a miracle to which I could not immediately give credit, I determined to ascertain the truth, and for that purpose proceeded to visit the derweish. When I approached the hermitage or cell where he had taken up his abode, I found about four hundred of his disciples clothed in skins, and seated in ranks round the entrance. One of them had previously announced my approach. When I entered the abode of the recluse, which appears to have been a sort of cavern, he did not attempt to move, neither did he offer me the usual salutation, nor the slightest mark of respect in any way whatever. Having, however, made my salaam to him, and otherwise testified my humble respect, I endeavoured by all the mildness I could assume to bring him into conversation. At last he condescended to open his mouth, and his first words were these: "I serve that king who sustains, rambling about the earth, many such kings as thou art." To this observation I replied by a request that he would favour me with something that might remind me of the admonitions of the wise and good. "Strive for the repose of God's creatures committed to thy care," said he, "and do thy pleasure, for the virtue of this will be a cover to thy sins. Be not offensive. In the agents whom thou mayest employ in the different provinces of the empire, be it thy study to reject such as are tyrannical and rapacious. Whilst thou hast power, cherish and respect the grey beard and the derweish." He then recited some lines of poetry of which the following may be the substance: "Scoff not at the aged man weighed down by the hand of affliction; kindle not the flame which

placed at his disposal was thus completed to thirty thousand cavalry of the four horse class, and ten thousand camel-mounted gunners.

It was not long before Abdullah Khaun found himself in presence of the rebels; who with apparent resolution, and a force little less than one hundred thousand horse and foot of every description, prepared to give him battle. The advanced parties commenced the action by a discharge of rockets and matchlocks; while Abdullah Khaun, having detached his brother to make an attack from an unexpected quarter, with his own division charged the enemy in full career directly in front. Twenty thousand of the rebels fell in this charge; and the remainder taking flight in dismay, crowded into one of their forts (probably that of Kanouje), from the walls and towers of which they opened a fire of artillery and musketry upon their pursuers. Without regarding the briskness of the fire thus kept up by the enemy, Abdullah Khaun with equal gallantry and presence of mind determined to storm the place; and the cavalry emulating the courage of their general, each horseman alternately springing forward, with invincible resolution, to take the place of his comrade as he fell, the principal gateway was at last carried; and ten thousand more of the rebels falling in the defence, their commander fell alive into the hands of the assailants.

The cap, or tiara, of the chief, containing jewels to the value of twenty lakhs of rupees, and ten thousand of the heads of the rebels, fixed on spears, with all the commanders who were taken alive, were conveyed to my presence, Abdullah Khaun remaining in full possession of the subjugated districts. To deter others from the commission of similar acts of rebellion towards their sovereign, and of ungrateful perfidy towards their benefactor, I directed the bodies of the slain who fell in the defence of Kanouje, to the number of ten thousand, to be suspended from trees with their heads downwards, on the different high roads in the vicinity. And here I am compelled to observe, with whatever regret, that notwithstanding the frequent and sanguinary executions which have been dealt among the people of Hindûstaun, the number of the turbulent and disaffected never seems to diminish; for what with the examples made during the reign of my father, and subsequently of my own, there is scarcely a province in the empire in which, either in battle or by the sword of the executioner, five and six hundred thousand human beings have not, at various periods, fallen victims to this fatal disposition to discontent and turbulence. Ever and anon, in one quarter or another, will some accursed miscreant spring up to unfurl the standard of rebellion; so that in Hindûstaun never has there existed a period of complete repose.

At the period of which I am speaking, I appointed Lushker Khaun to the government of Agrah, and the superintendence of its castles, together with the

minated root and branch. Moreover, it was understood that the territory the Mugs was the resort of great numbers of the very finest elephants, of as many as could be laid hold of, they were instructed to convey to presence.

one month after my departure from Agrah I entered Dehly; and here it my lot to receive information from Kanouje, that certain of the misguided in that neighbourhood had raised the standard of rebellion, expelled the of my government from several of the purgunnahs or townships in that and evinced in other respects the most turbulent, refractory, and hostile One of the ablest and bravest men about my court was Abdullah and him I now determined to employ, in order to reduce these insolent to their duty. In passing his troops in review before me, it was however ved that he had no elephants suited to the services of a campaign, and I fore presented him with five of the largest class. I added to these three of the breed of Irâk, together with two thousand camels of the fleetest and a donation of ten laks of rupees, all of which to give him a competent ment, and enable him with the greater confidence to proceed against the gents.

are told by a maxim founded on experience, to beware, when in the season tion you send your generals to the jaws of danger, that you distribute to liberally the marks of your bounty, in gold and horses, and the other dages of grandeur, so that nothing may be wanting to encourage them secute the services of the state with vigour and devotion. It happens too ently that the agents of government shall waste the resources of the districts sted to their care in improvident extravagance and luxurious indulgence; hence it comes to pass, that when the hour of trial arrives they are equally to themselves and to their duty. If then at the very crisis of danger I ld be induced to withhold my bounty, the manifold evils that must befal people, whom I may unfortunately have placed at their discretion, in every of tyranny and misgovernment, would be beyond all endurance; and at awful day of retribution what a dreadful responsibility would rest upon my lders! When therefore emergencies of danger arrive, there is but one alter- —you must disburse your treasure, though it require a houseful of gold.

next time that Abdullah Khaun passed in review, he communicated the that his brother might be permitted to join him; considering, as he red, should the enemy assail him with a force so superior as to risk some trous failure, that the support of so near a relative would be of the utmost quence. His brother was a commander of the order three thousand, and quest so reasonable could not well be resisted; and the force which was placed

ment had come upon Kaussem Khaun when he was totally unprepared; th his exertions to assemble a fleet and army had been anticipated by this king the Mugs, by whom he had been surrounded on every side; and that having be severely wounded in four places, he had been defeated with great loss, an finally compelled to abandon his troops to their fate. He had however contriv to throw himself into one of the fortified towns of the province, which he w determined not to surrender to the enemy.

On receipt of this untoward piece of information I directed Mokurreb Khau Vezzeir Khaun, and Shujayet Khaun, each of them dignitaries of seven thousan and each of them victor in a variety of sanguinary conflicts, with sixty thousan veteran Ouzbek horse, which I placed under their orders, three hundred piec of artillery, and twenty thousand matchlockmen on foot, to proceed immediate to the relief of Kaussem Khaun. The three commanders had my instruction should the force of the enemy on their arrival in Bengal appear beyond proportion superior, to apprize me without delay of the fact; and that my s Parveiz should, if necessary, hasten to their support, with one hundred thousa cavalry placed at his disposal.

Before they reached Mauldah, however, the three commanders receiv intelligence, that having at last assembled the ameirs from every quarter of th province, a circuit of six months' journey in extent, Kaussem Khaun with o hundred thousand horse and foot, all with fire-arms and inured to battle, ha attacked the enemy, elated as they were with success, on four sides at onc and that having killed thirty thousand of these ferocious invaders, the rest ha taken to flight, eagerly pursued by the conquerors. The latter followed th enemy into their own territories, where they made captive forty thousand bo and girls, the children of the fugitives; and these, together with the heads of th thirty thousand slain, were forwarded to my presence in the course of time. acknowledgment of this eminent piece of service, I advanced the dignity Kaussem Khaun by the addition of a thousand horse, conveying to him, at th same time a girdle, sword, and jeighah, set with precious stones, a charger wi enriched caparison, and an elephant which had been purchased for my ow imperial train at the price of not less than four laks of rupees.* I sent hi moreover, a complete dress taken from my own private wardrobe.

The three detached khauns having proceeded so far to the support of Kausse Khaun, they were now further directed to enter the country of the Mugs wi their united force, and I entertained but little doubt that, with God's grace an the influence of my victorious destiny, the power of the enemy would soon exterminat

* £40,000 appears an enormous sum to be paid for an elephant; this must, therefore, have bee gross error in the copyist.

[...]ives of that province. The four brothers passed the goblet round accord[...] and in the height of exhilaration began to embrace and kiss each other. [...]er, in conclusion, throwing himself at my feet, Parveiz acknowledged the [...]kable gratification of the moment; but he said there was still one thing [...]g to render their happiness complete. He and two of his brothers, he said, [...] possession of the several dignities of forty, thirty, and twenty thousand [...] and if a corresponding dignity were bestowed upon their elder brother, [...] remnant of regret would be effectually removed. The fraternal intreaties [...]veiz finally prevailed, and I granted to Khossrou the patent of an ameir of [...]y thousand. In this I could not but consider, that after me the imperial [...]ty must of right devolve upon Shahzadah Khossrou, it being a maxim in [...]eymûrian family, that while the eldest born is living, the monarchy shall [...] pass to a junior. Under every consideration, I therefore gave him full [...] for his offences, and restored to him all his honours, allowing him the [...] of ten and twenty days' journey round the metropolis, for his hunting [...] and other excursions of amusement. Upon a wholesome male progeny, [...], rest the sure permanence and stability of sovereign power; and an oppo[...] treatment would have been as inconsistent with sound policy, as it would be [...]rthy of the authority which I hold.

[...]out the period of which I have been speaking, the design of visiting Kash[...] and its blooming saffron meads took possession of my mind, and I issued [...] for the construction of four hundred vessels such as are employed on the [...]ges and Jumnah, it being my intention to proceed by water, at least to the [...] of the mountains. In the course of two months these were completed, all [...] awnings and curtains of elegant materials and workmanship. A sum of ten [...] of rupees was also advanced to Nour-ud-dein Kûly Beg, for the purpose of [...]g applied to the clearing away the forest thickets, and to the erection of [...]ges across the rivers, where necessary, to facilitate the passage of the imperial [...]s.

[...]y residence at Agrah had now continued for several months without inter[...]tion, and I had proceeded thence the distance of a day's journey along the [...] Jumnah upwards, on my way to Dehly, when intelligence was brought to [...] that the king of the Mugs,* with an army of two hundred thousand men, all [...]em carrying fire-arms, had landed in Bengal from the seaward, and unex[...]edly attacked Kaussem Khaun, who commanded in the province as the [...]tenant-general of my son Sûltan Bukht. The report, moreover, added that [...] enemy had in his fleet of ghraabs a formidable train of heavy artillery, and [...]plements of combustion beyond all calculation; that this formidable arma-ment

* The natives of Arracan, sometimes so called.

with diamonds, a horse with enriched caparison, and the elephant Kohpârah, for which my father had paid no less a sum than four laks of rupees, and which had hitherto always belonged to my imperial retinue, with a seat or houdah fitted to its back at the expense of nearly thirty laks of rupees,* equal to ninety thousand tomauns of Irâk.

In order to complete what was requisite to support the splendour of his rank as a prince of the blood, I conveyed to him, moreover, two hundred and three horses of the best breed in the imperial stables, and I directed that the ameirs of every rank that might be disposed to pay him their respects, should not approach him without a suitable present; and all were commanded to attend him on foot from the place of his confinement to the Dohrrah Bâgh, the distance of a quarter of a farsang, with the exception, as in the case of Sûltan Parveiz, of Ettemaud-ud-Doulah. Such was the display of magnificence and returning royal favour with which, after he had been discarded from my presence for a period of fifteen years,† I admitted Khossrou to do homage to my person.

When he approached the audience-chamber, and appeared in sight at some distance from the throne, he burst into a flood of tears, and repeatedly prostrating himself on the floor, so continued to do until he came close up, when placing his head at my feet, he there remained, without attempting to raise it up, for a full hour, although frequently importuned by me to look up. "With what face," he exclaimed, "can I raise mine eyes to my royal father's countenance? For an offence so heinous as that of which I have been guilty, how can I presume to ask forgiveness?" After shedding a profusion of tears, however, he at last arose, and in some verses expressive of his deep distress, implored my clemency for the past, and my indulgence for the future. Having so far testified his bitter remorse, he again bowed himself to the earth, and then, in an attitude of the utmost humility, standing before me with his hands across his bosom, he repeated, that he could never sufficiently atone or abate his sense of shame for his conduct, though night and day were consumed in endless regret in my presence.

I now ordered a jar of wine, and a goblet inlaid with precious stones, to be brought in, and directing my four sons, Khossrou, Khoorum, Parveiz, and Sheheryaun to seat themselves together, called upon them to circulate the goblet one to the other, while I looked on aloof, to witness this new scene of harmony and reconciliation. My fifth and remaining son, Sûltan Bukht, was at this time absent in Bengal, employed in suppressing the turbulent and disaffected among the

* £300,000. But £40,000 for an elephant must surely be an exaggeration.

† This fixes the date to the sixteenth of the reign of Jahangueir, about A. D. 1621 or 1622.

of the articles which composed his superb present to me. Eighty trained ...nts of the highest value; two hundred horses of the best breed of Irâk, with ...aparisons wrought in gold; one thousand camels of the dromedary sort, ... for their speed; a number of the large white oxen of Gûjerat; four hun... ...ays of gold brocade, velvet, satin, and other pieces of manufacture of the ... fabric; and twelve trays of jewels, consisting of diamonds, rubies, pearls, ...urquoises; altogether, according to the schedule, being equivalent to the ...ificent sum of four hundred laks of rupees.* On my part, throwing round ...eck a chaplet of pearl of the value of ten laks of rupees, I raised him at once ... the order of ten thousand to that of thirty thousand horse.

...bout a month subsequent to his arrival at Agrah on this occasion, ...z surprised me one day, by appearing before me with a napkin fastened ... his neck, and casting himself at my feet, breaking out into the bitterest ...sions of sorrow. Something astonished, I demanded with paternal solici... what it was that he would ask—what was the cause of this paroxysm of ... and what it was that he had to complain of? He replied, that it was beyond ...ndurance longer to reflect, that himself and his three brothers should be ...g their lives in hunting, and in every species of amusement, indulgence, ...ase, while one brother, the eldest of all, was condemned now for the fifteenth ... to drag on a wretched existence in the solitude of a prison: it was not ... of humanity to be entirely blameless; but in all circumstances, clemency ... the peculiar and most becoming attribute of kings. His humble prayer ...efore was, that I would at length grant to this brother my full pardon, release ... from his melancholy confinement, and restore him to an exalted place in my ...al favour. I found it no easy matter to parry this very urgent supplication, ... I therefore demanded if he was prepared to be responsible that the unhappy ...srou would never again commit himself by the same disloyal and refractory ...duct; in which case alone I might, perhaps, be persuaded to set him once ... at large. Parveiz immediately committed to paper a few lines, in the ...ure of a surety bond, and I accordingly signified my assent to the release of ...osrou.

That this might be done with all due formality, I directed a grand entertain...t to be prepared in the Dohrrah Bâgh, formerly mentioned; whither on a ... appointed I repaired from my palace at Agrah, and from thence I despatched ...f Khaun and Khaun-e-Jahaun with instructions, after giving him some ...ate admonition, to bring Khossrou out of his prison. In the mean time ... him from my own wardrobe a complete dress, with girdle and jeighah set with

* £4,000,000, at a moderate computation of two shillings to the rupee.

Ettamaud-ud-Doulah, who, after paying his respects on foot, was to remo without further ceremony. Thus not much less than twenty thousand of most distinguished individuals of my court and army were sent to conduct prince to my presence, with orders to lodge him on the evening of his arrival the Gúlafshaun garden (the rose-shedding).

On the ensuing day I gave directions, that between the castle of Agrah the garden where the prince had taken up his residence for the night, and wh is at the distance of half a farsang from the castle, there should be stationed regular intervals twenty nuggarahs or bands of music, to sound the strains triumph at his approach. At the same time the greater part of the inhabita of the city, both male and female, in their gayest apparel, proceeded to meet Shahzadah. Three thousand of my finest elephants, in their richest capari of pearl and gold, were drawn out on the road by which he was to approa Lastly, I sent him a dress of honour from my own wardrobe, with the cinct set with diamonds from my own waist, of the value of four laks of rupees; diamond jeigha, or aigrette, from my own turban, of the value of one lak, and chaplet of pearl of the value of five laks of rupees. But this was not all intimated that every individual person of my court, of whatever degree, desir of evincing his attachment to me, each according to his ability, should make present of some value to the Shahzadah; and by an account subsequently la before me, it appeared that he received on this occasion, in consequence of su intimation, in gold and jewels, horses and elephants, what amounted in the wh to the value of two hundred laks of rupees.*

In the course of the day they conducted Parveiz across the Jumnah into t castle of Agrah, where he was led immediately into my presence. The mome he came in sight of me, and yet at some distance off, he laid his forehead the floor, and thus seven times repeated his prostrations until he near approached my person. After the seventh he stood erect before me, with h hands crossed upon his bosom. It was now that I directed Saadek Mahomm Khaun and Khojah Abúl Hussun, one of my Bukhshies, to support him, one each shoulder, up the throne, in order to kiss my feet; and this done, I desir him to take his seat at my right hand, my son Khoorum being on this occ sion seated on my left. I then gave orders that the palace of Mohaubet Kha should be cleared for his reception: that chief being absent at the tim employed in quelling some disturbances on the frontiers of Kabûl, and his fami being by my directions removed to another place of residence.

On the day following Parveiz came to pay the ceremonial visit of homage, which occasion the following enumeration will exhibit a tolerable view of nature

* Equal to £2,000,000.

rned into the shape of a dome, and is also covered with squares of solid
, the ceiling of the dome within being decorated with the most elaborate
s of the richest materials and most exquisite workmanship. The adjoining
e is a structure of four stories, all decorated in the same costly manner as I
e just described, and is from top to bottom of an octagonal shape. Annexed
his latter structure is a small gallery overlooking the Jumnah, from whence,
en so disposed, I have been accustomed to view the combats of elephants,
ngaos, antelopes, and other wild animals. In another story in this building,
re on a level with the river, I occasionally distribute to the ameirs of my
rt, in social communion, wine from my own goblet; and in this same gallery
s that those entitled to particular privileges are admitted to a seat in my
sence.

There is, however, another saloon of general audience, to which all classes of
people, high and low, without exception, are admitted to my presence; but
is a recess is parted off by a lattice-work of gold; and at the front of the hall
rmed an area, in which is erected a mohidjer (or balustrated stage perhaps)
the height of a man from the ground, also of gold, where the most distin-
ished members of my court, princes of the blood, and nobility from the rank
ne thousand to that of five thousand, are appointed to take their stand on
asions of state and ceremony. The area is covered all over with carpets of
ty and forty cubits, and above is a triple canopy of velvet wrought with gold,
protection against the rays of a meridian sun. The lattice-work and plat-
s are both of solid gold, and so contrived as to be easily taken to pieces,
r removal from place to place, always forming a part of the imperial equipage
equipment, ready to be set up whenever necessary. I shall only add, that
quantity of three thousand maunns of gold* was expended in the fabrication
this article of the imperial appointments.

Having now taken up my abode at Agrah for a permanence, I despatched a
ssage to Allahabad, requiring the presence of my son Sûltan Parveiz, whose
ad-quarters were at that station. Accordingly, when information reached me
at he was arrived within a day's journey of Agrah, I commanded the whole of
e ameirs and dignitaries of the empire to quit the city, and proceed to meet
m, in order to form his escort to my presence. The instructions of ceremony
hich I gave them on this occasion were as follows:—when they came within
e distance of a bow-shot of the prince and his retinue, they were to dismount
om their horses and to salute him on foot, and so continue until they had his
rmission to remount: but from this an exemption was made in favour of
Ettamaud-

R

* At twenty-eight pounds to the maunn only, this would make the trifling quantity of forty-two tons of gold!

four lofty arches, terminating in a circular dome, the whole one hundred and twenty cubits high, divided into six stories, and decorated and inlaid with gold and lapis lazuli from roof to basement. This superb portico, as it may be called, has also on each of its four sides (angles probably) a minaret of hewn stone three stories or stages in height. From the entrance to the building in which reposes all that is earthly of my royal father, is a distance of nearly a quarter of a farsang, the approach being under a colonnade floored with red stone finely polished, five cubits wide. On each side of the colonnade is a garden planted with cypresses, wild pine, plane, and súpaury trees (the betel-nut tree or arek), in great number; and in the gardens on each side, and at the distance of a bow-shot from each other, are reservoirs of water, from each of which issues a fountain or *jet d'eau*, rising to the height of ten cubits; so that from the grand entrance to within a short distance of the shrine, we pass between twenty of these fountains. Above the tomb itself is erected a pavilion of seven stories, gradually lessening to the top, and the seventh terminating in a dome or cupola; which, together with the other buildings connected with it in every part of the enclosure, is all of polished marble throughout; and all completed, from first to last, at the expense of one hundred and eighty lacs of rupees.* In addition to this I have provided that a supply of two hundred measures or services of food, and two hundred of confectionery, should be daily distributed to the poor from the sacred edifice, and that no strangers should ever be required to dress their own meals, though their number should amount to a thousand horse.

When I entered on this occasion the fabric which enclosed my father's remains, such were my impressions, that I could have affirmed the departed monarch was still alive, and seated on his throne, and that I was come to offer my usual salutation of homage and filial duty. I prostrated myself, however, at the foot of the tomb, and bathed it with the tears of regret and sincerity. On leaving the venerated spot, and in propitiation of the pure spirit which reposed there, I distributed the sum of fifty thousand rupees among the resident poor. I then mounted my horse and proceeded into the castle of Agrah, to the saloon, or palace, which I had ordered to be there built for my own residence.

This pavilion, or rather saloon, rests upon the gate which opens on the river Jumnah, and is supported by twenty-five pillars, all covered with plates of gold, and all over inlaid with rubies, turquoises, and pearl. The roof on the outside

* About £1,800,000. That the imperial biographer does not here exaggerate, we have the evidence of the lamented and excellent Bishop Heber, who visited the tomb of Akbar, about three kóss from Agrah, in his journey through upper India during 1824-25. It is also satisfactory to observe that the British Government has taken this beautiful mausoleum under its protection.

stipulate, in her richest ornaments, proceeded to the place of assignation accompanied by a groom and female attendant, and, according to appointment, found the Moghûl expecting her arrival. After entertaining the unhappy woman till midnight, he then made her drunk with liquor; and having murdered both the groom and her attendant, returned, and putting a bow-string about her neck, finally strangled her; and having thus consummated his atrocious design, returned with his blood-stained spoil to his own abode.

His villany, by some means or other, was at last detected, and the diabolical ruffian, together with the body of the woman he had murdered, and the ornaments of which he had stripped her, were brought before me. I ordered the kotewaul, or lieutenant of Kleir, to make search in the house of the murderer, conceiving that something more might be discovered of the property of his unhappy victims. As I suspected, they brought from thence two chests or boxes, which on being opened in my presence, proved to contain not less than seven hundred sets of female ornaments, all of gold, taken from the unfortunates whom he had thus immolated in the gratification of his detestable avarice. As soon as the circumstance was made public, the relatives of the deceased laid claim to and received the property: and I commanded that the perpetrator of this horrible villany should be immediately led to the great plain, where, as an awful example, he was torn piece-meal with red-hot pincers.

From Oujein, I now proceeded on my return towards Agrah, and in due course reached Futtahpour, where I remained for the space of four months, an alarming mortality then prevailing at Agrah. When, however, the mortality ceased, and the air began to be restored to its purity, I quitted Futtahpour, and took up my residence in the Dohrrah gardens, situated in the outskirts of the metropolis. These gardens had been formed by my father in the early part of his reign, and they contain within their precincts four separate pieces of water, each of them a quarter of a farsang, or about a thousand paces, in length and breadth, and each having on its bank a lofty and elegant pavilion. The gardens are, moreover, remarkable for a great many ancient cypress trees of extraordinary size; and it contains also fruit-bearing trees in the greatest number and variety.

Before I quitted these gardens for my final entry into Agrah, I considered it a sacred duty to visit the tomb of my father at Secundera, over which the buildings which I had long since ordered had been now completed, and, in truth, it exhibited to the view in all its parts an object of infinite gratification and delight. In the first place, it was surrounded by an enclosure or colonnade, which afforded standing for eight thousand elephants, and a proportion of horses, the whole being built on arches, and divided into chambers. The principal gate by which we enter is thirty cubits wide, by as many in height, with a tower erected on four

Khaun to furnish himself with what sums of money he might require from the treasury, and through the forest tract on that side prepare a passage for the imperial armies; and that officer, with twenty thousand pioneers, succeeded in a short time, with their saws and hatchets, in cutting a road a bow-shot wide across the whole line of forest, through which we passed with perfect ease and safety.

From Ahmedabad to the sea-coast is a distance of three days' journey; and as I had long wished to view the wonders of the deep, I now proceeded to Khambait, or Cambay, at the head of the gulf of that name. Here I caused to be constructed on piles, to the distance of a league within the sea, a large stage or pier, which I secured against the impulse of the waves by anchors of a thousand and two thousand maunns' weight. From this, for seven days and as many nights, embarking on board of the ghraubs, or prowed vessels employed on these coasts, I enjoyed in all its perfection the amusement of fishing.

Leaving Cambay and its sea-beaten shore, I directed my course next towards the city of Oujein, one of the most ancient in the whole territory of Hindûstaun. On the banks of a large lake of fresh water near the city, and which washes the foot of the castle walls, I caused on my arrival to be erected, for my accommodation, a pavilion of the largest size, and of the best architecture of the country; and here I remained, hunting and making excursions to various parts of the neighbourhood, for the space of forty days.

While I remained at Oujein on this occasion, an instance of atrocious and sanguinary turpitude occurred, of which the history of crime happily furnishes but few examples.

A certain Moghûl had resided for some time in the place, employed, as was supposed, in the pursuit of some commercial concern; and he was, it seems, in the habit of inviting such females as he observed to be addicted to liquor, to meet him in some of the gardens in the vicinity, where he told them they would find and experience from him such a reception as would surpass their most luxurious expectations.

The women thus invited usually arrayed themselves in their richest ornaments, and thus repaired to the place of appointment; where, as it afterwards appeared, it was the practice of the villain first to reduce them to a state of intoxication, and then to murder and strip them of their ornaments, with which he returned to his own residence. This he was permitted to continue for many a week, until he had by these nefarious means contrived to amass treasure to the amount of five-and-forty thousand tomauns.*

At last one of the women thus invited, after arraying herself, as was his rule, ti-

* At thirty-three rupees to the tomaun, this would be about fourteen lacs and eighty-five thousand rupees, or about £150,000.

...I at last entered the metropolis of Gûjerat on this occasion, I caused ...ings erected by my father for the greatest part, such at least as in my ...eared unworthy of his memory, to be demolished, and others of greater ...ence to be erected in their stead. I remained in the province for a pe... few months, amusing myself in the sports of the field, and making ex... to view the different parts of the country. It is but justice to say, that ...f city, Ahmedabad, must be considered among the most renowned in ...ion, when it is remembered, that during the time of the refractory ... who furnished so much employment to the armies of my father, an im...nuggarah, or noubet, sounded from five different quarters of the place, ...ing the residence of as many independent sovereigns; and its magnitude ... further estimated by the fact, that it is surrounded by sixty-one suburbs, ...parately as large as a moderate-sized town, and each governed by its own ... magistrate. There were moreover, at the time, in the different bazars ...city, not less than five thousand bankers' or money-changers' shops: from ...ch circumstances taken together, we might with a single glance of the ...nclude as to the greatness and opulence of this very magnificent city.

...e midst of its numerous population it contains, however, an extraordi...proportion of thieves and vagabonds of every description, so inured to ...e and violence, as not to be deterred from their profligate habits of life ...e severest measures that I could devise; not even though I have occa...ly ordered two and three hundred a day to be cut off by various modes of ...ion. From these circumstances, so notorious has been the insecurity of ...ads in Gûjerat, and so much have travellers of every class and description ...posed to inconvenience and danger, that a native of that seat of the ... Shiraz, on one occasion, on his arrival at Agrah gave vent to his feel... these four lines: "I have traversed, through the blessing of Him who to ... accountable, roads of which the soil is saturated with human blood. ...y he be said to have obtained a renewal of life, who had escaped a living ...m the perils of Gûjerat."*

...nclude my observations on Gûjerat, I shall here add, that the province ...ther a month's journey in compass, the frontiers covered with tracts of ...d woody hills, not to be traversed by man without the greatest difficulty, ...ing the haunts of wild beasts, and animals of many strange and ...on varieties. At the period I was about to enter the province from ..., on the occasion recently referred to, I directed Nour-ud-dein Kûly Khaun

* ...e little doubt that these statements relate to the depredations of the Bheils and Graus... ...ing proscribed from the pale of human protection, are by this time, I trust, through the ...s of the British Government, restored to the common benefits of civilized society.

In the course of five days, by employing various artificers of Ahmedabad, the number of four hundred individuals, in different branches of decoration, had so effectually changed the appearance of the gardens, by making use coloured paper and wax, that every tree and shrub seemed as abundantly f nished with leaf, and flower, and fruit, as if in the very freshness and bloom spring and summer. These included the orange, lemon, peach, pomegran and apple; and among flowering shrubs, of every species of rose, and ot garden flowers of every description. So perfect, indeed, was the decept produced, that when I first entered the garden it entirely escaped my recoll tion that it was no longer the spring of the year, nor the season for fruit, I unwittingly began to pluck at the fruit and flowers, the artificers having cop the beauties of nature with such surprising truth and accuracy. You mi have said, without contradiction, that it was the very fruit and flower you s in all its bloom and freshness. The different avenues throughout the gar were at the same time furnished with a variety of tents and canopies, of vel of the deepest green; so that these, together with the verdure of the sod, c trasted with the variegated and lively tints of the rose and an infinity of ot flowers, left altogether such an impression on my mind, as that in the very seas of the rose I never contemplated in any place, garden, or otherwise, any thi that afforded equal delight to the senses.

From this scene of fascination and enchantment I was not permitted to wi draw myself for three days and as many nights; during which, independen of the delicious repasts on which we feasted, the females of my harram by wh I was accompanied, to the number of four hundred, were each of them p sented with a tray of four pieces of cloth of gold of the manufacture of Khor saun, and an ambertchei, or perfume-stand, of elaborate workmanship and con derable value; none of which presents could have been estimated separately a less sum than three hundred tomauns.* What the begum presented to mys on the occasion, in jewels, pieces of the richest fabric for my wardrobe, a horses of the highest value for temper and speed, could not have amounted to less sum than four laks of rupees. In return, I presented her with a chaplet pearl of the value of five laks of rupees, which had been purchased for my ov use, and a bulse of rubies worth three laks more: I also added one thousa horse to the dignity already possessed by her father. In conclusion, what w thus exhibited in one short week, and in the very depth of winter, for my recr ation, by the daughter of Khaun Khanan alone, could scarcely have been accor plished by the united genius and skill of any hundred individuals of the oth sex, chuse them where you may.

Whe

* 9,900 rupees, which multiplied by 400 would make no inconsiderable sum.

is folly, for Auddal Khaun had formerly driven him from his capital for a r instance of insatiate avarice.

hile my court continued at Mandou on this occasion, it came to my know- that Mirza Rûstum had, in some way or other, accumulated debts to the nt of four thousand tomauns,* and his creditors were become extremely cous in their demands for payment, notwithstanding that he derived his dignity of a commander of five thousand, an annual income of nearly -two laks of rupees, independently of occasional presents, and other proofs y bounty. This was a debt, however contracted, whether through extra- at habits or improvident management, from which there was no great ability that he would ever be able to relieve himself. As I could never er that he was at any time devoted to singers, or that description of per- , I could not avoid suspecting that those whom he employed had taken a est advantage of his indolence. Considering, therefore, that his energies t have been altogether extinguished under such a load of debt, I summoned editors to my presence, and immediately discharged the whole of it; at me time desiring it to be understood, that, for the future, whoever gave t to Mirza Rûstum, under any circumstances, would be subject to a penalty e full amount of the debt, be it great or be it small.

s a considerable period had elapsed since I had an opportunity of visiting rovince of Gújerat, I felt a desire now I was in the neighbourhood to view its present state, and I accordingly quitted Mandou, after making the neces- preparations, and proceeded in that direction. When my father had completed subjugation of the province, he had particularly enjoined every member of his t to erect at different stations on the frontiers convenient buildings, with ens attached, and every requisite whether for repose or recreation. Now n we approached the capital of the province, the first place at which I mped happened to be the villa and gardens of Khaun Khanan, close to the rbs of Ahmedabad. Kheyr-ul-Nessa Begum, the daughter of that nobleman, was present among the inmates of my harram, now came to me, and stating wish to entertain me in these gardens of her father, requested that I would ain upon the spot for a few days, while she expedited the necessary arrange- ts for my reception. With a request which had its source in such motives of ness I could not refuse to comply, and I accordingly continued encamped in neighbourhood. I must not omit to observe by the way, that it was during season of the year in which, from the effects of the cold weather, most trees shrubs usually shedtheir foliage, and are equally bare of leaf, and fruit, and som.

In

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* About 605,000 rupees, at thirty-three to the tomaun.

of discomfiture. In fact, I restored great part of the territory subjugated my armies in the field, reserving to myself only the honours of the coinage khothbah, or invocation from the pulpits. At the same time I consigned government of the conquered countries, with unlimited powers, to Kh Khanan, whom I have long since learnt to regard as if he were mine own or brother.

At the period when Sûltan Khoorum came to visit me from Bûrhanpour, brought with him Oustaud Mahommed Nâë (the piper), whom he introduced me as the most skilful musician of the age, adding moreover, that he had co posed a particular melody which he had dignified with my name.* But beyo all, he was particularly celebrated for his unrivalled performance, as his na implied, upon the flageolet. In truth, when he proceeded to exhibit the prow of his superior skill in my presence, he produced from his instruments su exquisite strains as absolutely burst upon the ear, so surprising were the effe of his performance. I experienced at all events such delight on the occasio that I commanded a pair of scales to be brought before me, in order that might reward him with his weight in gold. Without uttering a syllable the m abruptly quitted my presence; but immediately afterwards returning, appeared with the piece of music fixed to one arm, and a little girl of about s years of age on the other; and he stated in explanation, that when he compose the melody this his little daughter was in his arms, and he therefore could no persuade himself that she was not entitled to share in my bounty. I nodde assent. He was placed in one of the scales and a quantity of gold in the other and his weight was found to be five maunns Hindy. I ordered him to b weighed the second time, and the weight in gold to be given to the daughter.

Such, however, was the rapacious avarice and absence of all sense of pro priety in this man, that in spite of the expostulations of the treasurers, he wa not to be restrained from the most ludicrous attempts to increase the weight o gold; and his disrespect and want of decorum became so glaring that it wa not to be overlooked, and I at last ordered him to be turned out of my camp Before I proceeded to this extremity he had, however, had the assurance to demand that I should order him the daily supply of a camel-load of water, which further convinced me that there were no bounds to the man's insolence; and thus was the merit he possessed completely marred by the sordid spirit of avarice. Neither is it to be forgotten, that there are few defects among mankind of a more pernicious tendency than that want of sober respect, which is always due to those invested with the functions of sovereign authority. It subsequent appeared, however, that this was not the first time the man had been punished fo

* Saut-e-Jahângueiry.

...nued to reside there for one whole year, during which I laid out, more... several fine gardens, with beautiful water-works and cascades; and the ...ers of my court and camp, actively emulating the example of their sovereign, ...lled the place in every part with palaces and gardens, of similar beauty ...scription.

...favourite son Khoorum had concluded a treaty with Auddel Khaun and ...inces of the Dekkan, by which it was agreed to put my lieutenants in ...sion of the best and most flourishing parts of the country, and among ...s of the city or town of Puttun,* celebrated for its manufacture of cloth ...ld, such as is not to be met with elsewhere in all India. Often had my ...e declared, that whenever this place should come into his possession, he ...d build the walls with alternate wedges of gold and silver; and in very truth ...place is not unworthy of such a cincture, however gorgeous and costly. ...ther of the towns ceded by the same treaty was Ahmednuggur, the metro... ...of Husseyne Nizam Shah; and we shall add Khânapour, a district which ...rdure of landscape and deliciousness of climate has not any where its .... Another of the acquisitions derived from this treaty was the province ...rār, of a month's journey in compass, and for its numerous towns and ...ishing population equal to any part of Hindûstaun. All these were now ...ferred to my sovereign authority, together with a train of elephants four ...dred in number, of the highest value for size and courage; these were ...ished with caparisons, chains, neck-fastenings, and bells, all of gold, each of ...a bearing on its equipments not less than five maunns Hindy, equal to fifty ...nns of Iràk of gold.† The velvet housings of the elephants had on them, ...eover, the figures of various kinds of animals embroidered in pearl; and ...ong the peishkesh, or presents of homage, conveyed to me on this occasion, ...e three chaplets of pearl, each chaplet moderately valued at sixty thousand ...ees; and of every kind of precious stone, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, and ...er articles of the most costly description, such a quantity was conveyed to ...treasury and wardrobe as it would be unnecessarily tedious to enumerate. At the intercession of Khoorum, after all, through whom their prayer was ...veyed on the occasion, I gave up to the vanquished chiefs several districts ...townships, as well for the maintenance of some degree of state, as from ...royal disposition to forget the past, and as far as possible to heal the wounds of

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* This is the celebrated Sidpoor Puttun, founded in the twelfth century by Sidraj Jey Sing, ... of Anhulwarra Puttun,—the Nehrwala of European geographers. They are about twenty ... apart, and both on the Sarasvati.

† At twenty-eight pounds to the maunn this would give one hundred and forty pounds weight of ..., which at sixty-three guineas to the pound, would make eight thousand eight hundred and twenty ... four hundred times repeated!

conceived in the following terms: "The article which I sent thee by my daughter, and of which thou hadst not the common sense to understand the value, would have produced thee every day gold by the horse-load. Hast thou had the folly to cast it into the Nerbuddah, from whence it can never more be recovered?" It is needless to expatiate upon the regret and remorse of the king of Búrhanpour, when on receipt of this epistle he came to understand the extent of his error: and although he employed every exertion and expedient to search the bed of the river, not a vestige of this most precious of stones was ever found.

Ages afterwards, when my father Akbar set on foot his expedition against the subsequent monarch of Búrhanpour, one of the elephants in the imperial train from its furious and intractable temper had a ponderous iron chain* attached to one of its legs. In passing this same river, the Nerbuddah, the chain came in contact with this long-lost and mysterious pebble, and when seen on the opposite side of the ford, was discovered to have been transmuted into solid gold.† The circumstance was immediately made known to my father, and a number of people was forthwith employed to search the ford, in the hope that something might be discovered of this miraculous substance; but entirely without success, and the search was of course abandoned in despair.

Of this celebrated fortress of Mandou it remains to add, that notwithstanding every advantage of strength and situation, my father, after a siege of six months, made himself master of the place; when he caused the gateways, towers, and ramparts, together with the city within, to be entirely dismantled and laid in ruins, for the possession of this formidable strong-hold had but too frequently led its possessors into rebellion against their sovereign. The dependencies, lands, and inhabitants of the province, continued however as flourishing, if not more so, than ever, notwithstanding the destruction of Mandou.

I have yet further to observe, that at the period when I found it necessary to erect my victorious standard for the purpose of chastising the refractory rulers of the south of India, I came to the vicinity of this celebrated place, and ascended to view its stupendous ruins. I found the walls only demolished in part, and became so highly delighted with the freshness and salubrity of the air and climate, that I determined to restore the town. For this purpose I accordingly ordered the foundation to be marked out, among the ruins of the ancient city, of a variety of spacious and lofty structures of every description, which were carried to a completion in a much shorter time than might have been expected.

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* Seven hundred mauns, at twenty-eight pounds to the maun, would be ten tons lacking four hun[dred] weight, which is incredible!

† It cannot be denied that the imperial biographer has here taxed the credulity of his readers [to the] utmost limits: ten tons of gold would make 1,260,000 guineas.

med, he would not have taken a thousand tomauns of gold; nevertheless, in the excess of his affection to his child, he had resigned to her this ines-able jewel. At the same time he explained to her the miraculous properties the stone; conceiving that from his simple statement alone of its extraordinary s, without further particulars, the monarch of Bûrhanpour would be led to clude that there was something very wonderful connected with this stone, that it must contain some very mysterious latent property.

Under the care of the ambassador, who was also hâjeb, or lord chamberlain of court, the princess of Mandou, accompanied by a suitable retinue of her er's people, set off for Bûrhanpour, the well known city of that name on the Tapty, and having proceeded to a river, (without doubt the Nerbuddah), in four days journey from that city, she was there met by the Bûrhanpourian a numerous escort of his nobles, an imperial and sumptuous suit of tents g been set up for her reception on the banks of the river. Having bestowed the princess and her retinue the usual marks of royal bounty, in khelaats, gold, and beautiful horses, and in other respects liberally discharged the s of hospitality, he was a little disappointed when, viewing her equipment, uld discover nothing that bespoke the splendour of a royal bride; and he not forbear observing that as her father did not appear to have sent with mediately any part of her marriage portion, peradventure it was his inten-o supply this defect at a future opportunity.

e daughter of the royal blacksmith now thought fit to apprize the monarch rhanpour, that on taking leave, her father had presented her with a bag of brocade containing a jewel, the weight of a methkal of which was equal in to the revenue of a hundred provinces: at the same time she had been ucted, when inquiry should be made as to the jewels and other appendages yal splendour which were expected to accompany her, to present to the anpourian monarch that same bag of brocade; with which, the princess laid ag on the floor, before her intended father-in-law. The prince of Bûr-our on disclosing the bag, and perceiving nought but the stone, which in arance exhibited nothing very remarkable, expressed considerable displea- and suspecting that the *brocaded purse* with its *stone contents* had been mitted with no other view than to indicate the opinion entertained of his cter, he indignantly snatched the stone from the hands of the princess, and it into the middle of the river. From the same spot, without further mony, he dismissed the princess and sent her back to Mandou to the pre- of her father.

e chief of Mandou, on the return of his daughter thus dishonoured, took no er notice of the insult than by transmitting a letter to the Bûrhanpourian conceived

pleted, extended to little less than fourteen farsangs in circumference;* and as t the expense incurred in the execution of such an undertaking, it would surpa the power of words or writing to form an estimate.

In order to facilitate the communications with the exterior, the fortress con tained ten large gateways and four sally-ports in different directions; and fro each of the gateways, which were erected on lofty eminences,† a flight of step cut in the solid rock led from top to bottom of the mountain, making altogethe fifty thousand steps; that is, properly speaking, a staircase of five thousand step to every principal gateway. He built, moreover, within the fortifications a loft and spacious mosque, containing one thousand chambers, or perhaps cloister each chamber or *seffah* containing a pulpit for the recitation of the khotbah an other services of religion on Fridays; and such in a short time was the multitud of human beings accumulated within the circuit of this stupendous fortress, th on occasions of public worship the whole of the thousand and one oratories we completely crowded. Parallel with the mosque, or contiguous to it, he built als an extensive karavanserâi, and a lofty dome or rotunda; this latter to serve a the burial-place of his family. In this dome it is moreover described that the introduced four warm-water springs, the contents of which being made to dro slowly, drop by drop, gradually formed a petrified mass of such solidity and mag nitude, as to supply for his children, and others bound to him by the ties o affection, a material for their tombs, superior to, and more delicate than the fines marble.

To bring the matter within as short a compass as possible, when this sump tuous place of worship and its appurtenances had been completed, and the countr round for the space of a month's journey in circuit had been subjugated to th authority of our fortunate blacksmith, an ambassador from the monarch of Bû hanpour arrived at Mandou, to solicit the hand of his daughter for the son o that monarch, the prince of Bûrhanpour. Having signified his assent to th arrangement, he took some time to prepare the suitable equipments, and th requisite paraphernalia for the bride: after which she was formally delivered t the ambassador to be conducted to Bûrhanpour. On the departure of hi daughter, however, the royal blacksmith deposited in her palanquin, and seale up in a purse of cloth of gold, this inestimable gold-creating stone: and she wa instructed to acquaint the monarch that on parting with her, her father shoul have said that for a single methkal, or scruple of that stone, worthless as i seemed

* The fortifications of Mandou were doubtless of great extent; but probably fourteen kôsse wo be nearer the truth than fourteen farsangs: twenty-one, instead of forty-two miles.

† For greater convenience and cover, the gateways would be better placed in the hollows betw the hills. The towers usually erected to defend the gateway have however a lofty appearance.

the woodman again took his hatchet to the smith. "This is a pretty sort ob," said he, "that you have done by my hatchet, the edge is not only de- ed but the instrument by which I earned my bread is turned into copper." smith, being much better informed than his customer, told him that certainly atchet was now not worth repairing, and that if he chose, as it was but just he should make good the injury, he would give him a new one in its stead. come," said he, "Shew us the stone which has spoilt your hatchet by ing it into copper." The silly rustic took him to the spot without hesitation, pointed out the stone, which, with a joy not difficult to imagine the wary instantly conveyed home, where without divulging the secret of his pre- deposit to wife or child or any one else, he locked it up most carefully in his t. He did not, however, dismiss the poor wood-cutter without giving him xcellent new hatchet according to promise.

he fortunate blacksmith now proceeded by degrees to turn every bit of iron s possession into gold. In process of time he built for himself a sumptuous e. He entertained in his service numbers of armed men, all clad in coats of , and all experienced in the trade of war, to many or most of whom he ned yearly stipends of from two to three hundred tomauns * a man. In , the fame of his bounty and liberal encouragement to those who enrolled selves under his standard extended to all parts of the world, and men of t and courage from every region flocked to his presence, and were sure of a and generous reception.

his, as may well be imagined, could make but little impression on a treasury, ch derived its means from a source so inexhaustible. He became however ious to secure for himself and treasures some place of strength, to resist any mpt of superior power which on any future occasion might be disposed to il him. He accordingly selected for his purpose four lofty contiguous hills, ch, lifting their summits to the skies, contained within their precincts a spa- s and extensive plain; and these he determined to fortify by all the means to derived from the art of war and the science of defence.

In short he commenced his operations without further delay, by setting twenty sand masons and pioneers, under his own directions, to carry on the works on side of the position which he had fixed upon, while his son with an equal ber of workmen was similarly employed on the opposite side; until at the ination of thirty years,† father and son met together, and the two extremi- of the stupendous work became thus united. The fortifications thus com- pleted

* From 6,000 to 9,900 rupees.

† This should probably be three, as thirty years would be rather too large a proportion of the smith's

The instant he perceived me about to pass he drew his sword, and made a furiou cut at me. I endeavoured to avoid the stroke by suddenly starting aside, bu in vain; the blow took effect, and my right arm dropped from the shoulde joint. Thus wounded and bleeding, I rushed from this deposit of treasure an horror, and at the entrance above found the physician and his associates, wh had so mysteriously determined the destiny of my unhappy brother. Some o them went below and brought away my mutilated arm; and having closed u the entrance with stone and mortar, conducted me, together with my arm a bleeding as I was, to the presence of the Portuguese governor, men and women and children, flocking to the doors to behold the extraordinary spectacle.

"The wound in my shoulder continued to bleed; but having received fro the governor a compensation of three thousand tomauns, a horse with jewelle caparison, a number of beautiful female slaves, and many males, with th promise of future favour in reserve, the Portuguese physician was ordered t send for me, and applying some styptic preparation to the wound it quickl healed, and so perfectly, that it might be said I was thus armless from m birth. I was then dismissed, and having shortly afterwards obtained a passag in another ship, in about a month from my departure reached the port fo which I was destined."*

On the above relation, continues our imperial memorialist, I have to observ that in all probability the extraordinary circumstances to which it refers wer effected through the operations of chimia ('alchemy'), known to be extensivel practised among the Franks, and in which the jugglers from Bengal appear t have been very well instructed.

Another marvellous relation which I am led to introduce into my narrative, that which refers to the origin of the stupendous fortress of Mandou, one of th most celebrated in Hindûstaun, and which we are taught to believe derived it existence from the following circumstances.

A poor inhabitant of one of the cities in Hindûstaun, by repairing with his ax to one of the neighbouring woody hills every day, and bringing to town at nigh such fuel as he was able to collect, contrived with the produce to provide th scanty means of subsistence for his family. Occasionally, as necessity require it, he was in the habit of taking his axe to a smith for the purpose of getting th edge restored: but on one occasion his hatchet glancing aside from a billet o wood struck a stone, which stone happened to be that which possesses the qua lity of changing iron into gold: the effect was that the woodman's hatchet wa immediately transmuted into a wedge of gold. In the extreme of ignorance a folly

* The story of the Arab would make a respectable addition to the voyages of Sinbad in the Arab Nights.

ecame completely amalgamated. Will it be believed, that after this they the head and again fixing it exactly to the body, they continued to rub the ining parts with the mixture of blood and oil until the whole had been ied. They left my brother in this state, closed the door, and went their y.

At the expiration of three days from this, they sent for me from my place onfinement, and telling me that they had obtained at my brother's expense at was necessary to their purpose, they pointed out to me the entrance to ace under ground, which they said was the repository of gold and jewels incalculable amount. Thither they informed me I was to descend, and I might bring away for myself as much of the contents as I had strength arry. At first I refused all belief to their assertions, conceiving that doubt- they were about to send me where I was to be exposed to some tremendous ; but as their importunities were too well enforced, I had no alternative but ission.

I entered the opening which led to the passage, and having descended a flight airs about fifty steps, I discovered four separate chambers. In the first ber, to my utter surprise, I beheld my brother apparently restored to ect health. He wore the dress and habiliments of the Ferenguies, or Portu- es, had on his head a cap of the same people, profusely ornamented with and precious stones, a sword set with diamonds by his side, and a staff arly enriched under his arm. My surprise was not diminished when the ent he observed me I saw him turn away from me, as if under feelings of utmost disgust and disdain. I became so alarmed at a reception so strange unaccountable, that although I saw that it was my own brother, the very row in my bones seemed to have been turned into cold water. I ventured, ever, to look into the second chamber, and there I beheld heaps upon heaps iamonds and rubies, and pearl and emeralds, and every other description recious stones, thrown one on the other in astonishing profusion. The chamber into which I looked contained in similar heaps an immense profu- of gold; and the fourth chamber was strewed middle deep with silver.

I had some difficulty in determining to which of these glittering deposits I uld give the preference. At last I recollected that a single diamond was of greater than all the gold I could gather into my robe, and I accordingly decided cking up my skirts and filling them with jewels. I put out my hand in er to take up some of these glittering articles, when from some invisible agent, aps it was the effect of some overpowering effluvia, I received a blow so ning, that I found it impossible to stand in the place any longer. In my eat, it was necessary to pass the chamber in which I had seen my brother.

The

naked, one of their hakeims, or physicians, proceeded to make the minutest examination of our bodies, in every muscle, vein, and limb, telling each respectively after undergoing such examination, that he was at liberty to go about his business. This they continued to do until it came to the turn of myself and a brother who was with us; and what was our dismay and horror when, after the described examination, the hakeim delivered us into the custody of some of the people in attendance, with orders to place us behind the curtain; that is, where we should not be open to human intercourse. With the exception of my brother and myself, the whole of the ship's company, on whose bodies they failed to discover the marks of which they were in search, were now dismissed. Neither could my father either by tears or remonstrances succeed in diverting them from their purpose; to his repeated demands to know in what his sons could have offended, that out of a ship's company of twelve hundred persons they alone should be detained, they replied only by a frown, utterly disregarding every intreaty.

"They now conveyed my brother and myself to a part of the place where they lodged us in separate chambers, opposite however to each other. Every morning they brought us for food fowl kabaubs, honey, and white bread, and this continued for the space of ten days. At the expiration of that period the naokhoda (or commander of the ship), demanded permission to proceed on his voyage. My father implored that he would delay his departure, if it were only for two or three days longer, when peradventure the Portuguese might be induced to give up his sons. He presented himself to the ruler of the port, and again by the most humble intreaties endeavoured to obtain our release, but in vain.

"The same medical person on whose report we were detained now came with ten other Franks to the house or chamber where my brother was confined, and again stripping him naked, they laid him on his back on a board or table, where he was exposed to the same manual examination as before. They then left him and came to me, and stretching me out on a board in the same manner and plight, again examined my body in every part as before. Again they returned to my brother; for from the situation of our prisons, the doors being exactly opposite, I could distinctly observe all that passed. They sent for a large bowl and a knife, and placing my brother with his head over the bowl, and his cries and supplications all in vain, they struck him over the mouth, and with the knife actually severed his head from the body, both the head and his blood being received in the bowl. When the bleeding had ceased they took away the bowl of blood, which they immediately poured into a pot of boiling oil brought for the purpose, stirring the whole together with a ladle until both blood and oil

there could exist no reason for concealment compatible with what he owed for my protection, he finally relented, and related what follows.

"When I was about the age of fifteen, it happened to me to accompany my [fath]er on a voyage to India; and at the expiration of about sixty days, during [whi]ch we had wandered in different directions through the ocean, we were as[sail]ed by a storm so dreadful, as to be for ever impressed upon my recollection. [For] three days and three nights successively it raged with such indescribable [fury], the sea rose in such tremendous surges, the rain descended in such torrents, [and] the peals of thunder accompanied by lightning so incessant, as to be terrific [to] the utmost degree. To complete the horrors of our situation, the ship's mast, [whi]ch was as large in compass as two men with arms extended could encircle, [sna]pped in the middle, and falling upon the deck, destroyed many of the crew. [Th]e vessel was therefore on the very verge of foundering; but the tempest sub[sidin]g at the close of the third day, we were for the present preserved from [destr]uction, although we were driven far from the course which led to the port [of o]ur destination.

"When, however, the ship had for some days been pursuing this uncertain [cour]se, we came in sight unexpectedly of what appeared to be a lofty mountain [in t]he midst of the ocean; and as we neared the spot it was soon ascertained to [be a]n island, covered with numerous buildings, and interspersed with trees and [with] streams in most agreeable variety. Our stock of water in the ship was [near]ly exhausted, and we therefore steered close in land; and from certain [fish]ermen who were out in their boats we now learnt that the island was in pos[sess]ion of the Portuguese Franks; that it was extremely populous, and that [the]re were no Mussulmen inhabitants; moreover, that they had no intercourse [wit]h strangers.

"To be as brief as possible: as soon as the ship had reached the anchoring [gr]ound and dropped her anchor, a Portuguese captain and another officer came [on] board; and instantly, without leaving even an infant child to take care of the [shi]p, conveyed the whole of the ship's company, passengers and all, in boats to [the] shore; desiring, at the same time, that we might not be under any appre[hen]sions, for that as soon as it could be discovered that there was among us a [pers]on that suited a particular purpose, which they did not chuse to explain, that [on]e alone would be detained, and the others dismissed without injury. The port [bei]ng theirs, and ourselves entirely at their mercy, we were compelled to submit [to] all they said; and accordingly the whole ship's company, merchants, slaves, [an]d mariners, to the number of twelve hundred persons, were all crowded into [on]e house.

"From thence they sent for us one by one alternately, and stripping us stark-naked,

roses, and other flowering shrubs in full bloom, and in the midst of the garden a elegant pavilion. The next change exhibited a leaf of orange in the same man ner powdered with gold, on which the painter had delineated the representati of a great battle, in which two adverse kings were seen engaged in the struggl of a mortal conflict. In short, at every turn of the leaf a different colour, scene, a action, was exhibited, such as was indeed most pleasing to behold. But of all t performances, this latter of the volume of paper, was that which afforded me t greatest delight, so many beautiful pictures and extraordinary changes havi been brought under view, that I must confess my utter inability to do justice the description. I can only add, that although I had frequently in my fathe court witnessed such performances, never did I see or hear of any thing in ex cution so wonderfully strange, as was exhibited with apparent facility by the seven jugglers. I dismissed them finally with a donation of fifty thousand r pees, with the intimation that all the ameirs of my court, from the order of o thousand upwards, should each contribute something in proportion.

In very truth, however we may have bestowed upon these performances t character of trick or juggle, they very evidently partake of the nature of som thing beyond the exertion of human energy; at all events, such performanc were executed with inimitable skill, and if there were in the execution any thing facility, what should prevent their accomplishment by any man of ordinary cap city? I have heard it stated that the art has been called the Semnanian (pe haps *asmaunian*, 'celestial'), and I am informed that it is also known and pra tised to a considerable extent among the nations of Europe. It may be sai indeed, that there exists in some men a peculiar and essential faculty which en bles them to accomplish things far beyond the ordinary scope of human exertio such as frequently to baffle the utmost subtilty of the understanding to penetrate

I shall here take upon me to relate, that once upon a time a native of Arabi who had passed the age of forty, was brought to the metropolis for the purpo of being presented to me. When introduced to my presence, I observed that h had lost his arm close to the shoulder, and it occurred to me to ask him wheth this was his condition from his birth, or whether it was an injury which he ha received in battle. He seemed considerably embarrassed by the question but stated that the accident which had deprived him of his arm was attended wi circumstances so very extraordinary, as to be rather beyond credibility, an might perhaps expose him to some degree of ridicule: he had therefore made vow never to describe it. On my importuning him further, however, and urgi

* The latter part of this passage is one among the many that, through the unaccountable ignora of the person who copied the Persian memoir, I have found no small difficulty in rendering into com sense.

...er dried fruits and aromatic herbs. [The third remove is indicated in a ...riting so totally unintelligible in the Persian copy, that I have not ...ed to render it.] In short, at every alternate removal of the basket-lid, ... an hundred times repeated, a fresh display of delicacies would be pre... ...to the spectator, to our great admiration and surprise.

...nty-fifth. They caused to be set before me a large covered basin, which ...illed with water. They took off the cover to shew that it contained ...g but water; it was now replaced, but being again removed, there appear... ...the water ten or a dozen green leaves. The basket was again closed, and, ...g re-opened, there appeared three or four large snakes coiled together in ...ter. Another covering and removal, and there appeared in the water ... six koully khaur.* At the last uncovering of the vessel it was found to ... neither water nor any thing else, but was entirely empty.

...nty-sixth. One of the men in my presence displayed on his little finger ... ring; he removed the ring to another finger, and the gem had taken the ... of an emerald; removed to another finger, and the emerald became a ...d; again removed, and the diamond became a turquoise: and this ...ed for any number of times, terminated in the same result, every change ...cing a gem of a different colour and kind.

...nty-seventh. A two-edged sword was set up, with the hilt strongly fast... ...n the earth, and one of the men brought his naked side to bear upon it ... a manner, as to excite the utmost surprise that he should have received ...ily injury from having brought himself into such contact with so keen a ... [This passage is so extremely ill written in the Persian copy, that it has ...ardly possible to obtain the precise meaning.]

...nty-eighth. They produced a blank volume of the purest white paper, ...was placed in my hands, to shew that it contained neither figures nor ...d pages whatever, of which I satisfied myself and all around. One of ... took the volume in hand, and the first opening exhibited a page ... red sprinkled with gold, forming a blank tablet splendidly ela... ... The next turn presented a leaf of beautiful azure, sprinkled in ... manner, and exhibiting on the margins numbers of men and wo... ...various attitudes. The juggler then turned to another leaf, which ... of a Chinese colour and fabric, and sprinkled in the same manner ...ld; but on it were delineated herds of cattle and lions, the latter seizing ...e kine in a manner that I never observed in any other paintings. The ... exhibited was of a beautiful green, similarly powdered with gold, on ...was represented in lively colours a garden, with numerous cypresses, roses,

* Possibly cranes, or some large bird of the kind.

other flower of any colour at will. They held the flower for an instant behi the mirror, and bringing it forward again, it had assumed a different colo Thus it became alternately changed by this sort of sleight, to green, and red, a orange, and violet, and black and white: very curious to behold.

Twenty-first. They arranged in my presence ten empty porcelain jars, all attendance having witnessed that they were actually and entirely empty. about half an hour they uncovered the jars, when, to our surprise, one was fou to be full of wheat, another of preserves, another of sugar-candy, another different sorts of pickles, another of ladies'-legs,* another of citron, and anoth of tamarind. In short, every one of the jars contained a different eatable some kind or other, which was presented to me, and tasted by most of those wh were in attendance. After a little space they uncovered the jars for the last tim and they were seen to be completely empty, and as clean as if they had been hundred times washed in the purest spring water. This also was consider something strange and surprising.

Twenty-second. They brought the Koulliaut-e-Saady, or works of Saady, a in my presence deposited it in a small bag, of course previously examined. Th drew out the book, and it had been transformed into the Diwaun of Hafez; an the latter being replaced in the bag, it was drawn out again as the Diwaun Súliman. This was repeated many times, and every time a work was drawn o different from that which was last returned into the bag.

Twenty-third. They produced a chain of fifty cubits in length, and in m presence threw one end of it towards the sky, where it remained as if fastened t something in the air. A dog was then brought forward, and being placed at th lower end of the chain, immediately ran up, and reaching the other end, immed ately disappeared in the air. In the same manner a hog, a panther, a lion, and tiger, were alternately sent up the chain, and all equally disappeared at the uppe end of the chain. At last they took down the chain and put it into a bag, no on even discovering in what way the different animals were made to vanish into th air in the mysterious manner above described. This, I may venture to affirm, wa beyond measure strange and surprising.

Twenty-fourth. They placed before me a large covered basket,† having fir shewn to my satisfaction that it was quite empty. Having claimed my attention they now took up the cover, and the basket appeared brimful of the choices viands, most delicious to the taste. They put on the cover, and again in a fe minutes lifting it up, the basket now appeared full of fellouny,‡ raisins, almonds an

* I have no idea what this refers to. We certainly have a pear to which is sometimes given th name of *Cuisse Madame*.

† Lungry: if not a basket, I know not what it was.

‡ What this is I cannot tell, unless it refers to the following article, raisins; in which case it migh be Cephalonia raisins.

at kind and colour. They then plunged a skein of white thread into the ; and brought it first of a red, then of a yellow colour, and so of a different r a hundred times repeated, if required so to do.

teenth. They produced a bird-cage, of which the side that appeared next exhibited a pair of sweet-singing nightingales. They gave the cage a turn, ough there was no partition to divide it, there now appeared a couple of iful green parrots. Another turn of the cage, and they shewed us another f speaking bird of a scarlet colour: another, and we saw a brace of par- s beautifully mottled and coloured, and, what appears extraordinary, of melodious song. Thus at every change of the four sides of the cage, there ared a different kind of bird at every change, and the like if repeated a hun- times. This must, I think, have been attended with the greatest difficulty e performance.

steenth. They spread out a carpet of twenty cubits in length, and of very tiful colours and pattern. They turned it upside downwards, and displayed ttern and colours entirely different; and in like manner at every turn, if an ired times repeated, the carpet would exhibit patterns and colours entirely rent, *ad infinitum*.

eventeenth. They brought a large ewer, which in my presence they filled f water. They reversed the ewer with its face downwards, spilling the r to the last drop: they turned the vessel with its face upwards, and ppeared as full of water as at first. And this they could have repeated undred times over with the same effect; which I could not but consider ally curious and unaccountable.

Eighteenth. They produced a large sack, open at both ends. At one end his they introduced a melon, which at the other end was brought out a umber. Then the cucumber at one end came out at the other a noble bunch f finest grapes. Again, they introduced the grapes at one end, and at the er out came a bag of apples, of the true abbas sort: and thus, in an hundred ances, if required, they would in each instance exhibit a similar change: all ich could not but appear extraordinary to the eye.

Nineteenth. One of the seven men stood up before me, and setting open his uth, immediately out came the head of a snake. Another of the men seized snake by the neck, and drew it out to the length of four cubits. This being posed of by casting it to the ground, another followed in the same manner, and to the number of eight, none of them less than four or five cubits in gth. These being all cast loose upon the ground, were immediately seen ing in the folds of each other, and tearing one another with the greatest parent fury: a spectacle not less strange than frightful.

Twentieth. They took a looking-glass in one hand, and in the other a rose, or other

was drawn across the place, and being again removed, every vestige of ice, an even moisture of any sort, had completely disappeared.

Twelfth. They caused two tents to be set up at the distance of a bow-shot th one from the other, the doors or entrances being placed exactly opposite; the raised the tent walls all around, and desired that it might be particularly observe that they were entirely empty. Then fixing the tent walls to the ground, two o the seven men entered, one into each tent, none other of the seven entering eithe of the tents. Thus prepared, they said they would undertake to bring out o the tents any animal we chose to mention, whether bird or beast, and set them i conflict with each other. Khaun-e-Jahaun, with a smile of incredulity, require them to shew us a battle between two ostriches. In a few minutes two ostriche of the largest size issued, one from either tent, and attacked each other wit such fury that the blood was seen streaming from their heads; they were a the same time so equally matched, that neither could get the better of the other and they were therefore separated by the men, and conveyed within the tent My son Khoorum then called for the neilahgâo, and immediately were seen t issue from the tents two of those untameable animals, equally large, fat, an fierce, which likewise commenced a furious combat, seizing each other by th neck, and alternately forcing one another backwards and forwards for the spac of nearly two guhrries of time, after which they were also separated, and with drawn into the tents. In short, they continued to produce from either tent what ever animal we chose to name, and before our eyes set them to fight in the manner I have attempted to describe; and although I have exerted my utmost invention to discover the secret of the contrivance, it has hitherto been entirel without success.

Thirteenth. They were furnished with a bow and about fifty steel-pointe arrows. One of the seven men took the bow in hand, and shooting an arro into the air, the shaft stood fixed at a considerable height; he shot a second arrow, which flew straight to the first, to which it became attached, and so with every one of the remaining arrows to the last of all, which striking the united sheaf suspended in the air, the whole immediately broke asunder, and came at once to the earth. This also it would be difficult to explain.

Fourteenth. They filled a large vessel full of water perfectly transparent and placed it on the floor before me. One of them held in his hand a red ros which he said, by giving it a dip into the water, he would bring out of any co lour I chose to mention. Accordingly he gave the rose a plunge, and out i came of a bright yellow; and thus at every dip he brought it out of a differen kind and colour; at one time a gûlaul, at another an orange blossom. In short, a hundred times repeated he would have produced at each a flower of a differen

the hips from behind, and so on to the number of forty men, each laying hold one of the other by the hips in the same manner. The first man put forth his strength, and contrived to force the whole of the others in train along the field for some time: a degree of bodily strength which could not be witnessed without considerable astonishment.

Ninth. They produced a man whom they divided limb from limb, actually severing his head from the body. They scattered these mutilated members along the ground, and in this state they lay for some time. They then extended a sheet or curtain over the spot, and one of the men putting himself under the sheet, in a few minutes came from below, followed by the individual supposed to have been cut into joints, in perfect health and condition, and one might have safely sworn that he had never received wound or injury whatever.

Tenth. They took a small bag, and having first shewn that it was entirely empty, one of them put his hand into the bag; on withdrawing his hand again, out came two game cocks of the largest size and great beauty, which immediately assailing each other, fought with such force and fury, that their wings emitted sparks of fire at every stroke. This continued for the full space of an astronomical hour, when they put an end to the combat by throwing a sheet over the animals. Again they withdrew the sheet, and there appeared a brace of partridges with the most beautiful and brilliant plumage, which immediately began to tune their throats as if there were nothing human present; pecking at worms with the same sort of chuckle (*kakkah*) as they are heard to use on the hill side. The sheet was now thrown, as in the other instance, over the partridges, and when again withdrawn, instead of those beautiful birds there appeared two frightful black snakes, with flat heads and crimson bellies, which, with open mouth and head erect, and coiled together, attacked each other with the greatest fury, and so continued to do, until, as it appeared, they became quite exhausted, when they fell asunder. The sheet was thrown over as before, and when finally withdrawn, there appeared not a vestige of the snakes or of any thing else.

Eleventh. They made an excavation in the earth in the shape of a tank or reservoir, of considerable dimensions, which they requested us to fill with water. When this was done they spread a covering over the place, and after a short interval having removed the cover, the water appeared to be one complete sheet of ice, and they desired that some of the elephant keepers might be directed to lead their elephants across. Accordingly one of the men set his elephant upon the ice, and the animal walked over with as much ease and safety as if it were a platform of solid rock, remaining for some time on the surface of the frozen pond without occasioning the slightest fracture in the ice. As usual, the sheet was

Thirdly. The seven men stood close together in a group, and without moving either lips or tongue, produced between them such harmony and sweetness of modulation, as if the whole seven had but one voice, and that forming the most delightful unison. It was at the same time distinctly ascertained that the mouth and tongue had not the slightest share in the operation.* This also afforded subject of admiration.

Fourthly. They made for themselves about an hundred air-bolts† (*teir-e-hawah*), which they placed on an elevated spot at two bow-shot distance from the spot on which they stood, informing me that they would cause any one, or as many of them as I chose to order, to explode or take fire, without stirring from their place, in my presence. This they accordingly did, and I do not question that they would have set fire to ten at once if I had thought fit.

Fifth. They placed in my presence a large seething-pot or cauldron, and filling it partly with water, they threw into it eight of the smaller maunns of Irâk of rice; when without the application of the smallest spark of fire the cauldron forthwith began to boil; in a little time they took off the lid, and drew from it near a hundred platters full,‡ each with a stewed fowl at top. This also may be considered among things extraordinary.

Sixth. On a dry spot of ground they placed a particular flower, and having danced round it three times successively, an ebullition of water shot up from the flower, and instantly a shower of roses fell on all below, while not a drop of moisture touched the ground. When this miraculous fountain had continued to play for more than an hour they removed the rose, or whatever else it might have been, and not a vestige of any thing humid appeared on the spot where it had been placed. Again: they placed the same flower on the ground, and it threw up at this time, alternately, water and flower-shedding fire, and this for nearly two parts of a watch of the day.

Seventh. One of the seven men stood upright before us, a second passed upwards along his body, and head to head, placed his feet upwards in the air. A third managed to climb up in the same manner, and planting his feet to those of the second, stood with his head upwards, and so alternately to the seventh, who crowned this extraordinary human pillar with his head uppermost; and what excited an extraordinary clamour of surprise, was to observe the first man, who thus supported on the crown of his head the whole of the other six, lift one foot as high as the shoulder, standing thus upon one leg, and exhibiting a degree of strength and steadiness not exactly within the scope of my comprehension.

Eighth. One of the men stood upright as before; another took hold of him by

* This doubtless was the effect of ventriloquism.

† Query, rockets or squibs.

‡ Lungry, or perhaps pungry.

almond, a walnut, and many more trees, and this without any attempt at concealment in the operation; but open to the observation of all present, they were perceived gradually and slowly springing from the earth, to the height of a cubit, or perhaps of two cubits, when they shot forth leaves and branches; the apple tree in particular producing fruit, which fruit was brought to me, and I can attest to its fragrance.

The fact was not however confined to the apple tree alone, for having made the other trees appear in the manner above described, they said that if I thought fit to order it, I should taste of the fruit of every tree, which did not fail to increase the astonishment already excited. Then making a sort of procession round the trees as they stood, and invoking certain names, in a moment there appeared on the respective trees a sweet mango without the *rind*, an almond fresh and ripe, a large fig of the most delicious kind, and so with the pine, and every other tree of which they had set the seed, the fruit being pulled in my presence and brought to me, and every one present was allowed to taste of it. This, however, was not all; before the trees were removed there appeared among the foliage birds of such surprising beauty, in colour, and shape, and melody of song, as the world never saw before; and the more to confirm us in the reality, the birds were observed to whisper to each other, and to flutter, and contend with each other in playful indifference among the branches. At the close of the operation the foliage, as in autumn, was seen to put on its variegated tints, and the trees gradually disappeared into the earth from which they had been made to spring. I can only further observe, that if the circumstances which I have now described had not happened in my own presence, I could never have believed that they had any existence in reality.*

Secondly. One night, and in the very middle of the night, when half this globe was wrapped in darkness, one of these seven men stripped himself almost naked, and having spun himself swiftly round several times, he took a sheet with which he covered himself, and from beneath the sheet drew out a resplendent mirror, by the radiance of which a light so powerful was produced, as to have illuminated the hemisphere to an incredible distance round; to such a distance indeed, that we have the attestation of travellers to the fact, who declared that on that particular night, the same night on which the exhibition took place, and at the distance of ten days' journey, they saw the atmosphere so powerfully illuminated, as to exceed the brightness of the brightest day that they had ever seen. This may be considered, I think, among the extraordinary things of the age.

Thirdly.

* I have myself been witness to the mango operation, on the western side of India, but a sheet was employed to cover the process. I have, however, no conception of the means by which it was accomplished, unless the jugglers had the trees about them, in every stage, from the seedling to the fruit.

an eye shall we see the enchantress which enslaves the world and its votarie seize the throat of another and another victim; and so exposed is man to b trodden down by the calamities of life, that one might be almost persuaded affirm that he never had existence. "That world, the end of which is destine to be thus miserable, can scarcely be worth the risk of so much usele violence."

If indeed, in contemplation of future contingencies, I have been sometimes l to deal with thieves and robbers with indiscriminate severity, whether during m minority or since my accession to the throne, never have I been actuated b motives of private interest or general ambition. The treachery and inconstan of the world are to me as clear as the light of day. Of all that could be thoug necessary to the enjoyment of life I have been singularly fortunate in the po session. In gold, and jewels, and sumptuous wardrobes, and in the choice beauties the sun ever shone upon, what man has ever surpassed me? And had then conducted myself without the strictest regard to the honour and happine of God's creatures consigned to my care, I should have been the basest oppressors.

But to descend to matters of less serious importance. At the period of whic I am about to speak there were to be found in the province of Bengal performe in slight of hand, or jugglers,* of such unrivalled skill in their art, that I hav thought a few instances of their extraordinary dexterity not unworthy of a pla in these memorials. On one occasion in particular, there came to my cou *seven* of these men, who confidently boasted that they were capable of produci effects so strange as far to surpass the scope of the human understanding: an most certainly when they proceeded to their operations, they exhibited in the performances things of so extraordinary a nature, as without the actual demo stration the world would not have conceived possible; such indeed as cannot b be considered among the most surprising circumstances of the age in whic we live.

First. They stated that of any tree that should be named they would set th seed in the earth, and that I should immediately witness the extraordinary resul Khaun-e-Jahaun, one of the nobles present, observed that if they spoke truly, h should wish them to produce for his conviction a mulberry tree. The men aros without hesitation, and having in ten separate spots set some seed in the groun they recited among themselves, in cabalistical language unintelligible to th standers-by, when instantly a plant was seen springing from each of the te places, and each proved the tree required by Khaun-e-Jahaun. In the sam manner they produced a mango, an apple tree, a cypress, a pine-apple, a fig tre

* Bauzigurs.

intercourse with Kabúl, so long interrupted by the atrocities of these rob-was now by the effect of Lushker Khaun's victory completely re-established, communication so well secured, that every description of fruit the pro-of that province may at present be procured at Lahour every other day, neither very cheap nor in great abundance. The shedding of so much blood must ever be extremely painful; but until some other resource is red, it is unavoidable. Unhappily the functions of government cannot be on without severity, and occasional extinction of human life: for without ing of the kind, some species of coercion and chastisement, the world soon exhibit the horrible spectacle of mankind, like wild beasts, worrying ther to death with no other motive than rapacity and revenge. *God is* that there is no repose for crowned heads. There is no pain or anxiety to that which attends the possession of sovereign power, for to the possessor is not in this world a moment's rest. Care and anxiety must ever be the kings, for of an instant's inattention to the duties of their trust a thou-evils may be the result. Even sleep itself furnishes no repose for monarchs, versary being ever at work for the accomplishment of his designs. It has been said that kings will find enemies in the very hair of their own bodies. this my counsel be suspended like a jewel to thine ear. Hath heaven depo-in thine hands the power supreme—keep always well with the people to thy sway. Better that a man leave behind him a good name, than to behind him a palace of burnished gold."

ile I am upon the subject, I cannot but consider that he to whom God hath ed the pomp and splendour of imperial power, with a sacred and awful cha-in the eyes of his creatures, must, as he hopes for stability to his throne ngth of days, in no way suffer oppression to approach the people intrusted care. For my own part I can with truth assert, that I have never so far myself to the indulgence of the world's pleasures as to forget that, however to the appetite, they are more bitter in the issue than the most deadly ns. Alas! for the jewels of this world which have been poured in such pro-upon my head: they bear no longer any value in my sight, neither do I longer feel the slightest inclination to possess them. Have I ever contem-d with delight the graces of youth and beauty? The gratification is extin-hed, it no longer exists in my nature. The enjoyments of hunting, and of al mirth, have too frequently been the source of pain and regret. The finger ld age has been held out to indicate that retirement must be my greatest ce, my surest resource, and from thence must be derived my highest advan-. In short, there neither is nor can be in this world any permanent state of e or happiness; all is fleeting, vain, and perishable. In the twinkling of an

the sister's daughter of Nourjahaun Begum, in consequence of which unio became to me as a son of my own.

It had been made known to me that the roads about Kandahar were griev infested by the Afghans, who by their vexatious exactions rendered the com nications in that quarter extremely unsafe for travellers of every description had it therefore in contemplation to employ a competent force for the extirp of these lawless marauders. But while I was yet deliberating on the subjec individual of the nation of distinguished eminence in his tribe, and who enjoys in my court the title of Allahdaud Khaun, communicated to me such vincing reasons, that I determined to appoint an imperial foujdaur for province, under whose management, should they again set at nought the i rial authority, they might then be exterminated without further caution. not hesitate to vest the appointment in himself, and he still retains the under my authority.

Another arrangement in the same quarter was not accomplished with qui little difficulty. Lushker Khaun, who originally bore the name of Kh Abúl Hussun, and who had from an early period been attached to the se of the house of Teymúr, had recently been dignified with his title, and was patched by my orders towards Kabúl for the purpose of clearing the roa that direction, which had been also rendered unsafe by the outrages of a l tious banditti. It so happened that when this commander had nearly rea the point for which he was destined he found opposed to him a body of m taineers, in manners and intellect not much better than wild beasts or devils, had assembled to the number of forty thousand, horse and foot and match men, had shut up the approaches against him, and prevented his further adv Confiding, nevertheless, in the goodness of God and my unwaning fortun did not hesitate, with whatever disparity of force, to precipitate himself upon superior numbers. A conflict thus commenced, which continued with unal obstinacy from dawn of day until nearly sunset. The enemy were how finally defeated, with the loss of seventeen thousand killed, a number t prisoners, and a still greater proportion escaping to their hiding-places amon mountains. The prisoners were conducted to my presence yoked together, the heads of the seventeen thousand slain in the battle suspended from necks. *After some deliberation as to the destiny of these captives, I resolved their lives should be spared, and that they should be employed in bringing forag my elephants.**

* The passage in italics has been rendered for the most part by conjecture, the original be completely unintelligible as to bid defiance to all research. From the words Nerd bakhtery, it is conceived that the fate of these captives was decided by lot.

and skill that the head flew off to a considerable distance, exciting the rous applause of the whole assembly. I made him on the spot a present of thousand rupees, and conferred upon him the title of Mirza Mahmoud be-dou-neim (the lion-halver).

another occasion a bow of remarkable excellence had been sent to me from at by Mirza Shumsy, the son of Mirza Koukah my father's foster-brother, the strongest men had been unable to bend with the utmost exertion of strength. The same Mirza Mahmoud again besought, and having obtained mission to try his skill, took up the bow, and with little apparent difficulty ht the horns so far round as nearly to snap it in the middle, and this to the ise of the bystanders. This afforded me another opportunity for the ion of my bounty, and I advanced him from the order of one thousand to that en hundred, with the new title of Mirza Mahmoud Peitch-kemmaun (the ender). Having subsequently received from me the appointment of fouj- (or lord marcher) on the frontiers of Lahour, he became engaged in hostili- ith a powerful Râjah in that quarter, whom he finally subjugated; and I presented him with one of my finest elephants, with the title of Tehower a, bestowing upon him at the same time in wedlock one of the female tes of my own imperial palace.

other of the ameirs of my court distinguished for courage and skill was er Noodjum Thauni, who had not in the world his equal in the use of ow As an instance of the surprising perfection to which he had carried his ice it will be sufficient to relate, that one evening in my presence they d before him a transparent glass bottle, or vessel of some kind or other, a or flambeaux being held at some distance behind the vessel; they then of wax something in the shape of a fly, which they fixed to the side of the , which was of the most delicate fabric: on the top of this piece of wax set a grain of rice and a peppercorn. His first arrow struck the peppercorn, econd carried off the grain of rice, and the third struck the diminutive wax , without in the slightest degree touching or injuring the glass vessel, which as I have before observed, of the very lightest and most delicate material. was a degree of skill in the bowman's art* amazing beyond all amazement; it might be safely alleged that such an instance of perfection in the craft has been exhibited in any age or nation. As a proof of my admiration I ediately advanced him from the order of one thousand to that of two thou- horse; and I bestowed upon him, moreover, under a contract of marriage, the

* Before we arrive at the sequel I think it will be acknowledged, that our imperial archer was the *boldest bowman* in all his dominions.

a lion hunt in the neighbourhood of Lahour, and had gone out attended by body of four thousand matchlocks. Mounted on his elephant, he had entered t jungle or forest, which was known to be infested by these fierce and feroci quadrupeds to the number of twenty, male and female. Most unexpected three of these, all females, at once attacked the elephant, and one of th making an astonishing spring, fastened on my father's thigh. Providential Moussâheb Khaun, mounted on his horse Kohpârah (*montipars*), which fear neither lion nor elephant, came up at the moment, and instantly darting forw to the relief of his master, contrived to seize the lion by the back of the ne with one hand, while with the other he buried his khanjer, or knife, in the fl of the furious animal. Thus assailed, the latter fortunately quitted its h without further injury. But this was not all; at the very crisis of peril the t lions together rushed upon Moussâheb Khaun, when, it will scarcely be thoug credible, seizing both animals by the neck with either hand, he beat their hea together with such force that their brains issued from their mouths and nostr For these and other deeds of distinguished valour he has been most deserve elevated to the title of Sereffrauz Khaun; neither is he less renowned for ex rience in war than for undaunted courage.

Another chief renowned for his courage was Mirza Mahmoud, of a dist guished family of Seyeds at Mûsh-hed, who possessed under my father the ra of five hundred, and whom I early promoted to that of an ameir of one thousa It happened one day that a lion of enormous size, which had been wounded a neighbouring forest by a musquet-shot, was brought to my presence, lingered for some days before it finally expired. A doubt having been expres by me whether it were possible with the single stroke of a scymitar to sever head of this animal from the body, some of those in attendance seemed to ag that the thickness of the mane* at the back of the neck rendered this imposs A certain Raujpout, however, who claimed relationship with Râjah Maun Si and remarkable for bodily strength as well as bravery, stepped forward pledged himself, if I would give him permission, to strike off the head single stroke. Accordingly, drawing his sword, and with his utmost fo making a stroke at the dead lion's neck, the only effect was the separation a few hairs from the mane. Seeing this, Mirza Mahmoud approached, and requested my permission to try his strength upon the lion's neck. "In the na of God," said I, "let us see what thou canst do." He accordingly advanc and raising his sword on high, made it descend on the lion's neck with

fe

* It has frequently been considered a matter of doubt whether the animal so often referred to the denomination of *sheir* in these countries was not a tiger; but the circumstance of the sets the matter at rest, and hundreds of lions have been killed by our countrymen about H

ight combined with humility in individuals of the stock of Adam, while the is so polluted with worldly gratifications, that not a methkal of gold or silver extracted for the purpose of being devoted to religious uses or the cause of .*

h regard to the maxims which should govern the policy of sovereign s, it has been said, that to resolve without the concurrence of men of expe- is the most fallacious of proceedings; but I contend, nevertheless, that is no safety in council, unless founded in rectitude of mind. I maintain, f we intrust the concerns of the state to the opinions of another, we give to mighty an associate in the secrets of the heart. "We may pierce the sun with the diamond which points our vision; we may even penetrate the in their orbits by the same faculty; we may repose with safety in the f the dragon; but we may not confide to any man the anxieties of the ." He that conducts the destinies of his country by the judgment of r, must not forget that he will nevertheless be himself responsible, at the day of account, for all the exactions, the tyranny, the unjust decisions, e, and oppression, to which the people may have been exposed, through imprudent delegation. It is from the reigning sovereign that the awful ning will be required; not from those who have been his advisers. How does it then behove the man who holds the crown and sceptre, in every , to make himself, by a personal investigation, immediately acquainted with grievances of his people, so that assured redress may be always attainable, no one should be within the grasp of oppression in any shape! I shall now to other matters.

ssaheb Khaun, the Ouzbek, was distinguished for his bravery among the of the age, and had attained, in the time of my father, to the rank of an of three thousand. I now advanced him to the order of five thousand, ing to him at the same time the foujdaury, or command of the armed force ujerat. Some of the exploits of this intrepid man were worthy of the heroic m in the brightest periods of his career. The frontier districts of Gûjerat, ly an uncultivated and mountainous wilderness, overrun on every side briars, thorn, and thistle, were under his management so cleared and im- d, that a single person might traverse the country from one end to the without difficulty or molestation. It was at the same period that he d from me the title of Khaun.

an instance of the fearless courage and presence of mind of this brave sol- I cannot forbear to relate, that on one occasion my father was engaged on a lion

* The passage in italics is so obscurely written in the Persian copy, that it has been impossible to any other sense than the above.

of the different fortresses, great cities, and other places, throughout the empi which do not fall far short of thirty lacs, or three millions of men similarly arme not including ordnance on the works of the numerous fortifications, some of whi latter pieces require a charge of fifty and sixty maunns Hindûstauny of pow and ball.

At the period when I took my departure from Lahour for Agrah, on the oc sion recently described, it happily occurred to me to direct that the differ zemindaurs (or landholders) on that route, should plant at every town and villa and every stage and halting-place, all the way from Lahour to Agrah, mulber and other large and lofty trees affording shade, but particularly those with bro leaves and wide-spreading branches, in order that to all time to come the w worn and weary traveller might find under their shadow repose and shelter fr the scorching rays of the sun during the summer heats. I ordered, moreov that spacious serrâis, choultries, or places of rest and refreshment substanti built of brick or stone, so as to be secure against early decay, should be erect at the termination of every eight kôsse,* for the whole distance, all provided wi baths, and to every one a tank or reservoir of fresh water: a certain number attendants was also allotted to every serrâi, for the purpose of sweeping and kee ing clean, and in other respects to take care of them. And, lastly, at the passage every river, whether large or small, convenient bridges were erected, so that th industrious traveller might be enabled to pursue his objects without obstructi or delay.

In the same manner, all the way from Agrah to Bengal, a distance altogeth of six months' journey, at similar intervals trees have been planted and serr erected, the former of which have already grown to such a size as to aff abundant shade. And more than this, many benevolent individuals, emulous evincing their zeal in promoting my views, have at different stages laid o spacious gardens and plantations, containing every description of fruit tree; that at the period at which I am writing, any one desirous of travelling to a quarter of my dominions, will find at convenient distances spacious buildings f his accommodation, and a refreshing supply of fruit and vegetables for his recr tion; in so much, indeed, that he might be led to declare that he is a strang to the fatigues of travelling.

Of a surety, these are the things of which the effects will be found benefi both now and hereafter. Acts of this kind will sanctify our descent into t silent grave; will constitute our memorial in the world of the benefits deriv from us to our fellow-creatures. *But with all this, we are not to exalt oursel with the thought that the germ of vigilance is inherent in our nature, nor that fo*

* At one mile and a half to the kôsse, this would be at the end of every twelve miles.

...pa neither eat nor drank for the space of three days and three nights, which ...umed in tears and groans, hunger and thirst, and all those tokens of deep ...ance, peculiar only to those on earth who have sustained the character of ...ts and saints, but who have nevertheless found that a slight daily repast ...ll necessary to the support of life. It may be superfluous to remark, that ...tinence carried to the extremity of an entire fast for three days and three ...s together, would inevitably have sent them on the fourth day to the bosom ...rcy.*

...f a certain Kalujen or Kumbujen, it is impossible to ascertain which, the ...ial narrator proceeds to state as follows :]

... zeal, and diligence, and attention to the duties of his trust, he far surpassed ...ther. By night and by day he was unremitting in his attendance; wet or ...ain or fair, leaning upon his staff, he would continue to read to me from ... to morn. Neither did he discontinue his practice even when forming one ... suite on my hunting parties. For these services I had previous to my ...ion conferred upon him the order of one thousand horse, and I subsequently ...ced him to that of two thousand. He is now, however, from his increasing ...lence, become in a great degree incapable of discharging the duties of his ... with the activity which formerly distinguished him. I shall here remark, ...ing, that kings do not look so much to the persons of men as to their ser...; and exactly in proportion as these latter improve in merit, so will be the ...cement in favour, wealth, and dignity.

...the first day of every month, it was the rule with my father to set the ex...e to his ameirs by discharging his musket, and this was followed by the ... train, from the highest dignitary to the lowest stipendiary enrolled in the ...e of the state, whether cannonier or matchlockman. But this discharge of ...ery and musquetry never occurred but on that single occasion; unless, of ...e, in battle. In imitation of the same example I have continued the prac... a shot from my gun Droostandauz being followed by one from every indi...d in my armies, high or low. In short, the teffung, or matchlock-gun, is a ...on so unerring in its effects, has cost so much thought and skill in the inven... that an army preceded by fifty thousand camels, mounted by a force of this ...iption, may be considered equal to the achievement of any undertaking ...ever. I shall here further observe, that there are at present employed in ...ay of the state, either immediately about my person, or that may be assem...d at the very shortest notice, nearly five hundred thousand matchlockmen, ...er on foot or mounted on camels, independently of those engaged in defence of

* The whole of this passage, from some omission on the part of the transcriber, it has been difficult ...uce into common sense.

very commencement of the action. Nearly four hundred heads of tribes, Owimauk, were sent to perdition in the conflict, and about seven hundred were brought from different quarters prisoners to my presence. The jewel-chest of Khossrou, containing jewels to the value of nearly two krour of five-methkaly ashrefies,* fell into the hands of some persons who were never discovered.

In the course of the same Thursday I entered the castle of Lahour, where I took up my abode in the royal pavilion built by my father on this principal tower, from which to view the combats of elephants. Seated in the pavilion, having directed a number of sharp stakes to be set up in the bed of the Rauvy, I caused the seven hundred traitors who had conspired with Khossrou against my authority to be impaled alive upon them. Than this there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment, since the wretches exposed frequently linger a long time in the most agonizing torture, before the hand of death relieves them; and the spectacle of such frightful agonies must, if any thing can, operate as a due example to deter others from similar acts of perfidy and treason towards their benefactors.

As the imperial treasury remained at Agrah, and it seemed inconsistent with good policy, in so early a stage of my authority, to continue long among the disaffected hypocrites at Lahour, I now quitted that place on my return to the metropolis, leaving the unhappy Khossrou a prey to the visitations of shame and remorse, in the custody of Dillawer Khaun, who had instructions to watch over him with unremitting vigilance. A son ought, indeed, always to be considered as the stay of monarchy; to continue therefore in a state of disunion and hostility with such would be to sap the foundations of its prosperity. Never have I permitted myself, either in this or any other instance, to be misled by injudicious counsels; my proceedings, as far as they were under my control, being ever governed by the dictates of my own reason and my own experience; constantly have I borne in mind the observation of that best of guides, my father, that there were two things of permanent utility to the sons of sovereign princes, prudence and fidelity in availing yourself of opportunities; the one indispensable to the preservation of sovereign power, and the other to the maintenance of a course of good fortune. But, too frequently, felicity in promoting a career of prosperity is found extremely inconstant; after a very limited period it slips through our fingers never to return.

But to resume the narrative. On the twenty-sixth of the month of Suffur, of the year one thousand and fifteen,† I returned to the metropolis of Agrah. I cannot omit to describe that, in sorrow for his past misconduct, the unhappy Khossrou

* Eighteen krour of rupees, or eighteen millions sterling, a sum too enormous for credibility.

† 15th of June, A.D. 1606, fifty Sundays after the battle with Khossrou.

and the fortune of the empire being on my side, the result was a triumphant day for me: for when thirty thousand of the enemy had bitten the dust, the remainder discontinued all resistance and quitted the field in dismay.

Bahauder Khaun came, as it happened, to the very spot where Khossrou, having dismounted from his horse, had seated himself on a litter, conceiving that in the tumult and confusion of the pursuit he might possibly be able to escape without being known. Bahauder Khaun caused him however to be immediately surrounded by his troops, and Sheikh Fereid arriving also on the spot, Khossrou no longer perceiving the smallest outlet for escape, and that he must be overtaken without alternative, quitted the singhassun (or covered litter) in which he lay concealed, and announced to Sheikh Fereid that all further force was unnecessary, as he was, of his own accord, on the way to throw himself at his father's feet.

I call God to witness, that while at Goundwaul, at this perilous crisis, I experienced some strong forebodings that Khossrou was coming to my presence; but Jummaul-ud-dein Hûsseyne did not hesitate to express considerable doubt that Sheikh Fereid would that night be able to repulse the enemy, since, as he said, he had with his own eyes ascertained that Khossrou had with him a force of more than two hundred thousand fighting men. In this sort of discussion we were engaged when it was announced that Sheikh Fereid was victorious, and that Khossrou was his prisoner. Still incredulous of the joyful event, Jummaul-ud-dein dismounted from his horse, and throwing himself at my feet, persisted in the declaration, that although my imperial fortune indicated all that was propitious, still he could not yet give credit to the report. Every doubt was removed, however, a little afterwards, when Khossrou on his litter, accompanied by his general of artillery, was conducted into my presence.

Both Sheikh Fereid and Bahauder Khaun had conducted themselves on this trying occasion with distinguished ability and valour, and I immediately advanced the latter to the order of five thousaud, with the insignia of the drum and standard, and a present of horses with enriched caparisons, conferring upon him, moreover, the government of Kandahaur. Sheikh Fereid had previously possessed the rank of an Ameir of two thousand, and I now promoted him to that of four thousand. Seyf Khaun, the son of Seyed Mahmoud, had also greatly distinguished himself, having received not less than seventeen wounds in different parts of the body. Seyed Jullaul received a mortal wound in the upper region of the heart, of which he died a few days afterwards. He was of a distinguished family among the Afghans.

Seyed Hullaul and his brother, two of Khossrou's generals, terror-stricken by the din of the imperial kettle-drums, fled in consternation from the field at the very

and that he was actually engaged with the troops of Khossrou. Having swallowed a single mouthful for good luck, I instantly called for and mounted my horse, and consigning myself entirely to the protection of God's providence without suffering myself to be delayed by any concern for an array of battle, or being able to furnish myself at the moment with any other arms than my sword and a javelin, I gave the reins to my horse, and hastened towards the scene of the conflict. I had however about my person more than ten thousand horse although none were apprised that they were that day to be led to battle. Neither was it indeed in strict conformity with the rules of military discipline, to engage in conflict with numbers so inferior, however favoured by Providence, the troops being, in fact, much disheartened by the contemplation of their manifest disparity. I endeavoured to remove these impressions, by directing the Bukhshies to order the whole army forward to our support without delay, and making generally known the crisis at which we were arrived. By the time I reached Goundwaul, accordingly, my force had amounted to twenty thousand horse and fifty thousand camel-mounted gunners or matchlockmen, all of whom I now forwarded to the support of Sheikh Fereid.

Things were at this perilous crisis when I thought it advisable to despatch Meir Jummaul-ud-dein Hússeyne with a message to Khossrou, intreating that he would retrace his steps in time, and to beware of the awful responsibility to which he was exposing himself for the blood of such untold thousands of God's creatures. From this, though himself well-inclined to repair to my presence, he was however withheld by the counsels of the desperate and turbulent profligates by whom he was surrounded; and the reply which he conveyed to me through Jummaul-ud-dein imported, that having proceeded so far, there was no alternative but the sword; and that God Almighty would doubtless give the crown to that head which he knew to be most worthy of the empire.

When this presumptuous reply from Khossrou was communicated to me by Meir Jummaul-ud-dein, I sent to announce to Sheikh Fereid that there was no longer room for deliberation, and that he was at once to attack the main body of the rebels. These orders were carried into execution without a moment's delay. The attack commenced on one side from Bahauder Khaun the Ouzbek, at the head of thirty thousand horse in cotton mail, and twenty thousand camel-mounted matchlockmen; while Sheikh Fereid with a body-guard of chosen warriors rushed upon the enemy on the other. The army of Khossrou, on this occasion, consisted altogether of two hundred thousand horse and camel-mounted matchlockmen; the former clad in the same description of quilted mail as worn by the troops of Bahauder Khaun. The battle commenced at the close of the second watch of the day, and continued until sunset. The providence of God

...ate pillage, the children of the wealthy inhabitants being seized on as hostages, and cast into prison.

The blood-stained banditti now set fire to one of the gates of the castle, which, ...here observed, together with the town is entered by twelve principal ...s and four sally-ports. In the mean time Dillawer Khaun, with Hûs...e Beg, who at present holds an employment in my household, Nour-ud-dein ...y, the Kotwaul (or prefect of police), and others engaged in his support, ...ed to defend the gate from within, the enemy not yet having succeeded in ...ng it on fire, the people from the inside incessantly pouring water upon it. ...these means the wood-work of the gate being prevented from taking fire, the ...idence of the enemy began to droop; and Nour-ud-dein Kûly, ascending ...ramparts of the citadel, opened such a discharge of artillery and rockets ...the walls and towers, as must have rendered the situation of the plunderers ...hazardous and irksome in a very great degree.

The generals of Khossrou, not less than his troops, now despairing of the ...ure of the castle, and assailed by accumulating rumours of the approach of ...imperial armies, began to perceive the folly of the treasons by which they ...so deeply committed themselves; neither could they venture to foresee the ...ment at which, instead of laying siege to others, they should not be themselves besieged. All was now consternation, in which, nevertheless, setting ...r minds on battle and death, it was resolved, with one hundred and twelve ...sand horse, which they had contrived to collect together, to make at night ...ld and simultaneous attack upon my camp.

With this magnificent design in view, on Tuesday the 24th of Zilhudje, be...en the hours of evening prayer and supper-time, they abandoned the siege ...the castle of Lahour, and withdrew from before the city altogether. On the ...ing of Thursday the 26th,* while at the seräi of Rhaujush Ally, intelli...ce was brought to me, that after raising the siege of Lahour, Khossrou, with ...t twenty thousand men, had gone off no one knew whither; and this awaken...g the greatest anxiety lest he might, after all, be able to elude my pursuit, I ...ntly gave orders to march, although there was at the time a heavy and ...ant fall of rain. The same day I crossed the river of Goundwaul, and ...mped at Dowaul.

It was on Thursday the 26th, about noon, that Sheikh Fereid succeeded in ...rupting the march of Khossrou, and thus found himself at last in presence of ...enemy. At this moment, at Sûltanpour, I had just seated myself, and was ...t to eat of some parched wheat, which was brought me by Moezz-ul-moulk, ...n intelligence was communicated to me of the situation of Sheikh Fereid, and

* 18th of April.

of ten laks of rupees,* equivalent to three thousand tomauns of Irâk, in order defray his expenses in entertaining the same Bahauder Khaun, together wi Jemmeil Beg the Badakhshanian, Shereif Ammole, and the other dignitarie thus encouraging them, with an united object in view, to press vigorously up the rebels, and accelerate those reports of success and victory which they we to transmit to my presence.

On the 24th of the month,† having obtained information that my triumpha banners had made their appearance in pursuit, certain of the most determined Khossrou's generals received his permission to give battle. Sheikh Fereid on h part also bravely advanced his standard, at the foot of which he stood prepar for the attack. Bahauder Khaun above mentioned, to whom with my own ha I had devolved the sovereignty of Badakhshaun, and whom I knew to be a ve ran and experienced soldier, proceeded to draw out his troops in order of battl and having formed his army in three columns or divisions, with one of these advanced directly upon the front of the enemy, while the two other divisic assailed them in flank. The action then commenced, and continued with su cient obstinacy and considerable slaughter on both sides, until, of Khossro four principal generals, two betook themselves to flight, and the two othe with a thousand prisoners, were delivered alive into my hands. These condemned to various punishments: some to be flayed alive, some to ca wooden yokes about their necks, others to be drawn through the river, and oth to be trampled to death by my elephants. Those who escaped from the fi wounded, conveyed themselves, heart-broken and harassed with dismay a terror, to the presence of Khossrou.

This same day reports repeatedly came in regarding the siege of the castle Lahour, from which it became known that the garrison and the people of t town had embraced the same interest, and entered into engagements of mutu support. In these circumstances Hussun Beg Badakhshany represented Khossrou that the people of Lahour were throwing open the doors of the imp rial treasury, and were squandering the contents by extravagant donatives to t gunners who had made successful use of their pieces, independently of what w due to them as their regular pay; it being the design of this man, by persuadi Khossrou to the pillage of Lahour, to involve him in irrevocable hostility, t city being indeed inhabited by men abounding in wealth and property of eve description. Too easily misled by these insidious suggestions, and buoyed by his expectations, that the plunder of the place would give him a treasury f to the skies, Khossrou gave instant orders that the gates should be closed; the unhappy city was thus, for seven days, delivered up to ruthless and indis mi

* £100,000 sterling. † 16th of April.

...ription, whether as journalists, or otherwise employed, I had as my wards or ...ples not less than sixty-six in number. All of these were instructed to be ...ned implicitly by certain rules of duty arranged for their observation. Of ... we shall particularize the following:

...the disposal of their time they were never to be the dupes of their adversa... Always to put their trust in the author of existence; always to commit them... ...s to the shield and protection of their Creator. Never with their own hands ...e the death of any having life, excepting in the field of battle or the chase. ...ays to reverence the light as the abode of the glory and power of the Su... ...e Being. To consider all nature as bearing the impression of his Omnipo... Divinity. Always to keep in check the faculties of the mind. Never for a ...ent to be unmindful of God. In all undertakings to be governed by this ...ssion—to do nothing without having him in remembrance.

...n these maxims of mental discipline, my father, whose abode is now in para... ...e, and who in every thing has been my example and instructor, was pre-emi...ly perfect, making them ever the stedfast rules of his conduct, whether in ...oset or his court. Neither am I myself less persuaded, that to have a ...e remembrance, and a just reliance on him who is the friend of all who ...e him, is better than the professional sacrifices made in pretended devotion to ...while the imagination is intoxicated with the absurd vanities of this changeful ...ld. Such, indeed, was the unwearied piety of that excellent prince, that I do ...think the world ever furnished the example of its like; for from night to ...ing he was ever engaged, for the greater part, in meditation on the goodness ...s Creator; in telling his praises by his revolving beads, and in prostrations ...re the throne of his eternal power. In his instructions, also, he never failed ...culcate, that if I were desirous of surmounting the difficulties of life, with ...e to myself and satisfaction to others, I would neither rejoice nor place any ...ce on any other than Him,* who is the cherishing principle of all creation. ...couplets are omitted which he describes as often repeated to him by his father.]

...n Saturday the 21st of Zelhudje,† I encamped at the station of Anwund (or ...ps Anund), where I conferred upon Aeil Beg the Ouzbek the title of ...nder Khaun, and thence despatched him with fifty-seven Ameirs and Mûn...dars, from the order of one thousand to five thousand inclusive, to the sup... ...of Sheikh Fereid, who, with the advanced division, continued to precede us ...e distance in front. At the same time, I remitted to Sheikh Fereid the sum of

* ...e would scarcely credit, that the man who recorded these sentiments was the same that em... ...d his ruffians to murder the learned and enlightened Abûl Fazzel, and sent the intrepid Sheir ...n, the first husband of his wife, to perish, like Uriah, by the sword of the enemy.

† ...th April, 1606.

of numerous armies; where instances have frequently occurred, in which me who on ordinary occasions could scarcely be satisfied to drink of the cryst spring, have been known to swallow deep draughts impregnated with the mo loathsome impurities, with as much satisfaction as if it were the very water life. Nay, to the proudest monarchs on earth occasions have occurred, in whi the weight in diamonds has been offered in vain for a draught of the precio beverage.

I can, in fact, adduce an instance in point which occurred immediately myself, and it happened the first time in which I accompanied my father Akb on one of his excursions into the valley of Kashmeir. Delighted with scenes verdure and beauty not to be met with in the plains of Hindustaun, we had e tered the mountain pass of Peirentchaul, when I lost sight of my attendants at moment when I experienced the pressure of hunger in the extreme. In vain sought for food or fruit, or drink—neither groom, nor cup-bearer, nor slave any description was to be found in the midst of the multitude which throng the narrow passes almost to suffocation.

I was, as I have said, labouring under the pressure of extreme hunger, an had made my way through the throng for a short distance, when I observed few sheep which belonged to Assof Khaun. Instantly dismounting I seized o of the animals by the throat, and causing it to be slaughtered, desired that kabaub (or fry) might be immediately prepared of the flesh, in order to allay th hunger which devoured me. At the moment I am writing these lines I a arrived at the age of forty years, and I can with truth declare that in the who course of my life I never experienced such exquisite relish in food as in th simple meal, so opportunely furnished by this carcase of a stray sheep. I th experienced what it was to be without the means at hand of appeasing hung and allaying thirst; and my attendants were therefore instructed, whether on march or on a hunting party, hereafter never to be without the case, canteri, basket of refreshments. But while we remained in Kashmeir, neither the Khan Khanan nor myself ever went unprovided with cakes of bread at least about o own persons. I cannot omit to mention that on this occasion it was stat by the Kashmirians that whenever blood was shed within the pass of Peirentcha whether of men or other animals, so that loss of life was the result, some awf convulsion of nature invariably ensued. I can only add that I never witness any thing that furnished the slightest confirmation of such a fact.

At the same encampment near Shahabad I conferred the office Meir Ad (or minister of justice) on Sheikh Ahmed Lahoury. He had held the same offi under me previous to my accession, and I had never forgotten his services: an he had indeed received his education under my patronage; for of youths of th

descriptio

y, or collector, Khossrou had been enabled to continue his flight, and wer Khaun proceeding with his utmost expedition from the same place, not to apprize all he met with of the force that was approaching under the re. Abdurraihman, the diwan, or chancellor, of the Punjaub, receiving Dillawer Khaun intelligence of the approach of Khossrou, threw a garrison ght thousand horse and foot into the castle of Lahour, and proceeded with siderable body of troops to meet the fugitive prince, at whose feet however mediately cast himself. For this act of treason and perfidy he received Khossrou, with the title of Melek Anwar, the appointment of lieutenant-ral under his ephemeral government. The perpetration of such a deed of ious ingratitude was however visited after the defeat of Khossrou with its reward: for having been taken prisoner, I caused him to be sewed up in aw skin of a black-coloured ass, and in that guise he was led about the s and bazars of Lahour; until, through compassion for a numerous family fenceless children, I prevailed upon myself to pardon his crimes and spare fe. For offences of this description there is, indeed, but little room for y; yet such is the tenderness of my disposition, there are few instances in h I do not rejoice at any sort of feasible plea for the exercise of this bene-t quality. There are, however, two offences in particular which those sted with the exercise of sovereign authority can never pardon: treason st the state, and treachery in the harram.

n Tuesday the seventeenth of Zilhudje, while at Karnaul, I conferred upon or Eidy Khaujah the rank of an ameir of two thousand, and I bestowed Sheikh Nozamm of Tahnaser the donation of six thousand rupees. Here it communicated to me that an ordinary shop-keeper was going about per-ding the people that he could shew them the Supreme Being in corporal tance, or in other words that he could exhibit the Creator to mortal vision;* that he had contrived to impose upon vast numbers by his strange and im-s discourses. Having failed in his attempt to seduce my understanding to same absurd and impious speculation, I banished him from Hindustaun with mission to proceed to Mekkah.

On Thursday the nineteenth of the month,† we encamped at Shahabad, where experienced the want of water to a very distressing degree. In prayer I lifted my hands to heaven, and most providentially it so happened that on the self-e day there occurred a most copious fall of rain, which afforded to the assem-d multitude which composed the army the most seasonable and abundant ply of that most valuable of blessings. A just estimate of the value of this st precious of the elements can indeed only be adequately formed in the midst of

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* Perhaps a Roman Catholic exhibiting the *Host.*

† 11th of April, A.D. 1606.

thousand rupees for distribution at Adjmeir, among the derveishes ministeri round the resting-place of Mûeyen-ud-dein Chisti, and on Monday the si teenth of the month we arrived at Pânipet.

This town has always been propitious to the fortune of the house of Teym seeing that my father Akbar obtained two signal and decisive victories in th neighbourhood. The victory of my grandfather Homâyûn over Sûltan Ibrauhi Lody the Afghan, was also achieved on the plains of Pânipet. I shall here rela a circumstance which led to this latter victory.

Sekunder Lody, the son of Behlawel the Afghan and father of Ibrauhim, ha appointed Doulet Khaun, the son of Tatar Khaun, governor of Pânipet, and th latter on the death of Sekunder Lody becoming the object of some jealousy an alarm to Ibrauhim, had been summoned to Dehly, the seat of government of th newly established monarch. But suspecting that there was some design in agit tion that threatened his safety, Doulet Khaun contrived to evade the summon by delay, and sent his son Dillawer Khaun to appear in his stead. Finding thi Ibrauhim wrote to inform Dillawer, that if his father did not instantly appear court he would infallibly be overtaken by the same punishment as had alread befallen certain other refractory ameirs whom it was unnecessary to nam Dillawer Khaun did not fail to communicate this threatening message to hi father; and the latter transmitting for answer that it did not exactly suit him t go to Dehly, immediately fled to Kabûl, where he joined the standard of m grandfather. It was in consideration of certain circumstances derived from th event that I raised Ibrauhim Khaun Gaugur to the highest rank and the title o Dillawey Khaun.*

However this may be, had Seyed Kamaul, the son of Seyed Hamid the Bok harian, been at Pânipet on the present occasion, instead of Dillawer Khaun, th unhappy Khossrou would never have succeeded in continuing his flight beyon that place: for so fatigued, harassed, and exhausted was he with hard ridin and severe marches, and so discouraged his followers from the continual alarm of my rapid pursuit, that they were altogether in equal dismay and despair add to this that my armies were closing round him on every side, in conse quence of instructions early despatched by my orders. In the end, nevertheless Dillawer Khaun Gaugur fully atoned for his error in quitting Pânipet, fo hastening by forced marches to Lahour, he prevented that city from falling int the hands of Khossrou, as did Seyed Kamaul also in the subsequent action wit Khossrou, as will be hereafter shewn.

At Pânipet, having been furnished with a litter,† through the assistance of th

krour-

* Ibrauhim Khaun was doubtless his original designation, as the son of Doulet Khaun.

† Singhaussin, a sort of dooly or palanquin.

—has this unlucky face of mine been worth a shower of ashes?—True ...ess depends not either on reputation or report—elevation of mind belongs ...ther to the proud man or the boaster—humility will raise thy head above ...equals—pride will prostrate thee in the dust. The haughty and the arro... behold head downwards—dost thou wish for distinction, seek it not."

...shall now return to the circumstances of the pursuit of the fugitive Khoss... On Tuesday the tenth of Zilhudje,* we encamped at the station of Houdel, ...h Fereid the Bokharian still keeping in advance with a body of light ...ry. I was now induced to appoint Meir Moezz-ui-moulk, in consideration ...s long and faithful attachment, to take charge of the important castle of ...h, together with the treasure accumulated therein, in the room of Khaujah ...n. I gave orders at the same time that my sons who continued unshaken ...delity should follow me without delay: for I had lost all confidence in years; ...friendship and disunion had with me far greater weight than labour and ...e, now that dire necessity had forced me into an absence of which I could ...e the end, from my friends and all I loved.

...Thursday the twelfth of the same month our camp was at Feridabad, and ...Friday the thirteenth † we reached Dehly, where I dismounted in the first ...ce at the tomb of my grandfather the Emperor Homayûn, doing homage to ...mortal spirit of that illustrious monarch. I also gave to the surrounding ...the sum of thirty thousand rupees in alms, distributing both the money and ...s of cloth for vesture with my own hands. I proceeded thence to the grave ...eikh Nizam-ud-dein Aoulia, intrusting the sum of fifty thousand rupees to ...r Jamaul-ud-dein Anjû, and twenty thousand more to Hakeim Muzuffer, to ...distributed among the indigent classes in the vicinity of the tomb. At this ...e I found it expedient to despatch orders to Ahmedabad, requiring that ...t was due upon the revenue of Gûjerat should be stated to Rajah Bikramajit; ...the balance, after defraying the expenses of the youzbashies (or captains of ...), specially accoumted for to the imperial treasury.

On Saturday the fourteenth of Zilhudje my encampment was the caravan... ...of Beirah, which had been burnt down and abandoned by the fugitive ...rou. Here I advanced Aga Moulla from the class of one thousand and ...quota of one hundred and fifty horse, to that of fifteen hundred; and I ...ered to Jemeil Beg the Badakhshanian the sum of one lak of five-methkaly ...,‡ to be divided among the men of his tribe, encouraging them at the ...e time with abundant hopes for the future: for these men were not yet ...e at ease from their apprehensions, derived from recent refractory and rebel... ...proceedings. I further ordered for Rajah Maun Sing the sum of fifty thousand

* 24 of April, A.D. 1606. † 5th of April. ‡ Nine laks of rupees, or £90,000.

allotted to the prince and the pauper; whence, after being bathed in every de- scription of perfume, camphor, musk, and roses, a shroud for his vestment, coffin for his chamber, they were conveyed to their last repose. One foot of th bier was supported on my own shoulder, the three others by my three sons, un we passed the gates of the castle. Hence my sons, and the principal officers my household, alternately bearing the coffin on their shoulders, proceeded a the way to Secundra, where all that was mortal of the renowned Akbar wa consigned to the care of heaven's treasury. Thus it was, and thus it will be while this lower world continues to exist.

Seated at the head of his hallowed grave, we mourned for seven days after wards, observing in every particular the solemn rites of sepulture. I appointe especially twenty readers, to recite by his grave without ceasing, throughout th night, the sacred lessons of the Korán, and I immediately allotted five laks* o five-methkaly ashrefies for the erection of a lofty mausoleum over the tomb During the seven days of our mourning, I also directed two hundred langun (or services) of food, and the same number of services of sweetmeats, to be dis tributed morning and evening to the poor who might a tend. After this, th whole of the ameirs and other distinguished members of my court, who ha accompanied in the solemnization of these funeral rites, returned to Agrah; an thus terminated the life of my rather, at the age of seventy-five years eleve months and nine days.

I shall here briefly repeat, that at the period of my father's death the greate part of the ameirs of the empire were combined in a plan adverse in every respec to my accession, and sought, by all the means in their power, to elevate my so Khossrou to the throne of Hindústaun; designing, in fact, to leave to him th name only, while they retained to themselves the substantial exercise of the impe rial authority. But the Supreme Disposer of events was on my side. The influ ence of the immaculate spirits of the imaums was in my favour. To the aid of no human exertion was I indebted for my crown; and a charge so momentous having been delegated to me by Him alone who knows neither change nor decay I solemnly resolved, in my transactions with mankind, in the administration of justice, in protecting the defenceless, and in cherishing the poor and needy, to look to Him only to whom I owed my elevation, without the slightest regard to children or kin, or to any description of dependents whatever.

I have heard that one festival morning as he was quitting his bath, some one by accident threw a quantity of ashes on the head of Sheikh Bayezzid. Shaking the filth from his beard, and rubbing his hands across his chin, as if with feeling of satisfaction, he exclaimed: "my soul, have I then been found thus worth

* £450,000.

ever, previously desired me to send for Mêiran Sudderjahaun, in order to with him the Kelmah shihaudet,* which he said it was his wish to post- to the last moment, still cherishing the hope that the almighty Disposer of might yet bestow some prolongation. On his arrival, I placed Sudderja- on both knees by my father's side, and he commenced reciting the creed of faithful. At this crisis my father desiring me to draw near, threw his arms my neck, and addressed me in the following terms:

"My dear boy (bâba), take this my last farewell, for here we never meet Beware that thou dost not withdraw thy protecting regards from the se- in my harram—that thou continue the same allowance for subsistence as allotted by myself. Although my departure must cast a heavy burden upon mind, let not the words that are past be at once forgotten. Many a vow many a covenant have been exchanged between us—break not the pledge thou hast given me—forget it not. Beware! Many are the claims which upon thy soul. Be they great or be they small, do not thou forget them. to thy remembrance my deeds of martial glory. Forget not the exertions of bounty which distributed so many a jewel. My servants and dependants, I am gone, do not thou forget, nor the afflicted in the hour of need.— word for word on all that I have said—do thou bear all in mind; and forget me not."

After expressing himself as above, he directed Sudderjahaun once more to the Kelmah, and he recited the solemn test himself with a voice equally and distinct. He then desired the Sudder to continue repeating by his pil- the Sourah neish, and another chapter of the Korân, together with the prayer, in order that he might be enabled to render up his soul with as struggle as possible. Accordingly Sudderjahaun had finished the Sourah and had the last words of the prayer on his lips, when, with no other symp- than a tear-drop in the corner of his eye, my noble father resigned his soul to the hands of his Creator.

[Here follow thirteen couplets, of which we shall content ourselves with giving sense of the four last.]

"That tall cypress, which was the glory of the garden, have they laid pros- on the bed of desolation. Ever shifting world! who is exempt from the of thy fascinations? Rapid and undistinguishing in thy stroke, the noblest has no sparing from thee. From thy snares there is no escape. There is nothing certain but destiny—nothing adequate on the part of man, but resig-nation."

The venerated remains of my father were now laid on those boards, equally allotted

* The Mahommedan formula: "*There is no God but God*," &c.

with great difficulty; and his dissolution being evidently at hand, he desi that I would despatch some one to summon every ameir, without exception, his presence: "for I cannot endure," said he, "that any misunderstandi should subsist between you and those who for so many years have shared in toil, and been the associates of my glory." Anxious to comply with his desire directed Khaujah Weissy to bring the whole of them to the dying monarc sick chamber. Their names, were I separately to enumerate, would render narrative unnecessarily tedious.

My father, after wistfully regarding them all round, intreated that they wo bury in oblivion all the errors of which he could be justly accused,* and p ceeded to address them in the following terms, arranged in couplets:

> "Remember the repose and safety which blessed my reign,
> The splendour and order which adorned my court, O remember.
> Remember the crisis of my repentance, of my oft-revolving beads,
> The canopy which I prepared for the sanctuary of the Kaabah.
> Let the tear of affection shed rubies over my dust.
> In your morning orisons turn your thoughts to my soul:
> Let your evening invocations irradiate the gloom of night.
> Do not forget the anguish of the tear-flowing eye.
> When the chill winds shall visit your courts like the autumnal blast,
> Think on that cold hand which has so often scattered gold among you."

He added the following stanza of four lines:

> "Didst thou see how the sky shed around its flower-like fascinations?
> My soul is on the wing to escape this cage of darkness.
> That bosom, which the world was too narrow to contain,
> Has scarcely space enough to inspire but half a breath."

Here I perceived that it might indeed be this mighty monarch's latest brea and that the moment was arrived for discharging the last mournful duties of son. In tears of anguish I approached his couch, and sobbing aloud, I plac my head at my father's feet. After I had then passed in solemn sorrow thri round him, the dying monarch, as a sign auspicious to my fortune, beckon to me to take his favourite scimitar futtah-ul-moulk,† and in his presence gird it round my waist. Having so done, and again prostrated myself at h feet, I renewed my protestations of duty. So nearly was I indeed exhausted these paroxysms of sorrow, that I found at last the utmost difficulty in drawi breath.

On the evening of Wednesday,‡ when one watch and four sections of night were expired, my father's soul took flight to the realms above. He ha howev

* From the entire ignorance or negligence of the Persian transcriber, there has been consider difficulty in reducing this passage into common sense.

† The conquest of empires.

‡ If the previous dates be at all correct, this must have been the 9th of the month.

interview. In answer, I sent to apprize him, that in consideration of mportant services formerly rendered to my family, I had overlooked a t of offences, some of them of considerable magnitude; and I had so oked them, because men sometimes expose themselves to the bitterness of e, without designing to offend. Would to God that I myself had no offence wer for! "How often," said I, "have I not surrendered to thee the very recesses of my heart, the repository, as far as thou wert concerned, of kind feeling, liberality, and indulgence?" What more than this could ire? Nevertheless, after so many proofs of my benevolence, if, in t of this interview, our intercourse was to cease, I consented to his request. Saturday, the eighteenth of the latter Jummaudy,* Sheikh Fereid the ian came to do homage to me, and for thus anticipating his compeers in on to my interests, he received from me the pre-eminent trust of principal nary in all affairs, whether civil or military, together with the usual appen- of a scimitar, jeighah, and charger superbly caparisoned, together with k of rupees in specie. After him came Rajah Maun Sing, whom I also ted with an enriched kreisse and baldric, a horse and furniture, and other- eated with friendship and distinction. The day following Khossrou him- ccompanied by the same Rajah Maun Sing† and Mirza Azziz Koukah, was ed to my presence; the latter urging me upon the request that the province of l should be bestowed in full sovereignty upon Khossrou, and that Pâyendah amed Teheghal should be sent to attend or assist him in his government.

hough it must be considered inconsistent with the ordinary maxims of to have allowed of the absence of Khossrou from my presence at the very mencement of my reign, obnoxious as he was to the suspicion of such ambi- views, and all about my person concurring in the opinion, I ventured, theless, to comply with this request. I directed, at the same time, that they d embark and cross the Jumnah without entering the castle of Agrah, ng them that as soon as the impending mournful event should have taken they would be permitted to proceed towards Bengal.

this crisis of anxious suspence, my father sent me one of his dresses, with urban taken from his own brows, and a message, importing that if I were elled to live without beholding the countenance of my father, that father, I was absent, enjoyed neither peace nor repose. The moment I received essage, I clothed myself in the dress, and in humble duty proceeded into astle. On Tuesday, the eighth of the month, my father drew his breath with

* as it was subsequent to the accession of Jahangueir, this must have been Saturday, the 5th, d on Wednesday, the 10th.

† The maternal uncle to Khossrou.

attendants, the emperor turned to the other side on his bed, and Mirza A[illegible] Koukah, on whose brows he now for ever placed the blushing (rosy) chaple[t of] falsehood, observing his master reposing in that condition, entered the cham[ber,] and making a sign with both hands, presumed to ask what were his maje[sty's] commands with respect to Khossrou.

To this the sick monarch replied, "the decree is God's decree, and of [him] alone is the sovereignty. For my own part, with one mind I retain a thous[and] hopes. Surely, in giving a loose to such language in my presence, you h[ave] abandoned me to the jaws of death. Nevertheless it may happen that I h[ave] still some portion left in this life. If, however, the awful crisis be at hand— the hour of departure be arrived, can I have forgotten the military promptit[ude,] political sagacity, and other qualities indispensable to the successful exercis[e of] sovereign power, which at Allahabad I witnessed in Seleim Shah? Neither [do] I find that the love and affection which I have ever borne him has for a mom[ent] been diminished. What if, through the misguidings of the evil one, he sho[uld] for an instant have been led astray from his filial duty, is he not my eldest bo[rn,] and, as such, the heir to my throne: to that throne which by the institutes [of] my race belongs to the eldest son, and never descends to him who is in years [the] younger? *But the six months' wide territory of Bengal I bestow upon Khossr[ou.]*"

Having received these assurances from my father's lips, the specious hypocr[ites] repaired in numerous groups to my presence, in such throngs, indeed, that [the] people had scarcely room to breathe. What, however, they thought necessary [to] communicate to me, they made known through Meiran Sudderjahaun M[eir] Jummaul-ud-dein Hûsseyne Anjû and Eidy Khaujah, and this was to the foll[ow]ing effect: "The emperor, our sovereign, in giving to your son Khossrou ev[ery] augmentation of rank, always instructed him to address your highness by [the] appellation of Shah-Bhye;* our prayer to your highness therefore is, that y[our] treatment of your son shall be in every respect *paternal.*" My answer w[as,] that in his conversation with me, my father never addressed me by any oth[er] name than that of bâba (child): it cannot, therefore, be denied, that on su[ch] occasions I was acknowledged as your future emperor; for the son can nev[er] be either brother or father.

By this answer the ameirs appeared to be involved in some perplexity, neith[er] was it in their power to make any thing of a reasonable, much less a satisfacto[ry] reply. They seemed penitent of the part they had taken, and acknowledgi[ng] their folly, cordially resolved on yielding to me, without further opposition, eve[ry] proof of submission and allegiance; with the exception, however, of Mi[rza] Koukah, who conveyed to me a second time his request for a private and con[fi]de[ntial]

* Brother prince. *Bhye* in Hindûstauny signifies brother.

discontinued my visits to the castle, I sent my son Parveiz with an ...gy to my father, stating that I was prevented from attending upon him that ...y a severe pain in my head. My father, lifting up his hands in prayer for ...ealth, sent Khaujah Weissy to intreat that if possible I would come to his ...nce, for that he had no longer any hope of life, particularly under the violent ...sms of his complaint. "Alas!" said he, "what a time is this that thou ...chosen to be absent from my person, when thou knowest that, on my ...e, the succession to the crown is without dispute." Perceiving the crisis ...ich matters were arrived, the perfidious ameirs proceeded to swear the ...lmans on the Korân and the Hindûs on *salt*, that they had but one and ...me language with themselves in their hypocritical design. Sheikh Fereid ...okharian, who passed much of his time among these hypocrites, because ...all his kindred he was in attendance upon the emperor, was in constant ...ly communication with the faithful Mokurreb Khaun; while Mirza Kou-...sually entitled Khaun-e-Auzem, after the Mûssulmans and Hindûs had ...the oaths, sent a message to Shahzâdah Khossrou, my unduteous son, to ...tulate him on his approaching elevation. But he desired to know whether ...r and son were of one mind and one language on the subject, that, as he ...e might not be rendered odious to, or disgraced by one or other of the ...s. To these absurd and selfish speculations Khossrou sent for answer, ...the succession having been secured to him beyond all question, all these ...es appeared to be quite superfluous.

...h Mirza Koukah and Khossrou thus equally assured, the latter suggested ...jah Maun Sing, that as there remained in the emperor scarcely a spark ...fe, it was evident that he would not be able to bear the motion of the ...el;* and that if he should happen to expire in the removal, a heavy ...sibility would rest with some one or other of them: he must there-... caution him to be upon his guard, for that there was not the smallest ...ity for conveying the sick monarch out of the castle of Agrah. The argu-... seemed to have convinced the Rajah: nevertheless, watching the moment ... my father should recover from a fit of delirium, he ventured to propose, ...as the whole body of the people collected under Shahzâdah Seleim (the ...rialist) were besieging the castle, if it were his pleasure it might be as well ...move for a few days to the other side of the Jumnah; and the moment his ...h was restored, he might return again without obstacle to his palace. The ...monarch demanded, in reply, why this was come to pass? Surely they had ...ut the gates of the castle in the face of the Shahzâdah, and thus been the ... of his drawing the troops together? With the assistance of some of his attendants,

* A litter: from *sook*, 'ease.'

opportunities within the citadel with unceasing zeal and activity, and without allowing himself the ordinary intervals of repose, to promote my interests, and succeeded in a considerable degree in reclaiming the different Ameirs to a better sense of what was due to me. Of him I shall in this place also further observe that holding already, under my father's government, the rank of an Ameir of two thousand, I repeatedly urged him to point out in what way I could be of further service to him; and when my father advanced me to the order of twelve thousand, the first of my own train that I made a mûnsebdaur, or dignitary, was Mokurreb Khaun, on whom, by an additional thousand, I then conferred the order of three thousand horse; but of his sincere and unabated zeal for my service I have ever experienced the very strongest proofs.

How deeply my feelings were agonized at the thoughts of being excluded from the sight of my father, during the period in which I thus abstained from entering the castle of Agrah, I for some time withheld myself from communicating to any man, resigning myself entirely to the will of God. There were, however, a few on whose discretion and experience I could rely, to whom I finally made known the circumstances of pain and grief by which I was oppressed. These were Meiran Sudderjahaun, Meir Rezza-ud-dein the Kazvinian, and Khaujah Weiss of Hamadaun.

These confidential friends took occasion to remind me of what had occurred to Shah Issmâil and Sûltan Hyder Mirza, on the very night of the death of Shah Tahmasp of Persia. Certain of the ameirs had, it seems, entered into a coalition for the sovereignty of Issmâil Mirza, who resided in the citadel of the metropolis; and on the night on which it was their turn to be on guard in the citadel they entered into a consultation with the sister of Issmâil Mirza, to whom they communicated that there was a design on foot among some other ameirs to seize the persons of the adverse party, and to raise Hyder Mirza to the throne. That same night Shah Tahmasp expired; and Hûsseyne Beg with the ameirs who sought the elevation of Hyder Mirza, receiving the intelligence, brought his brother Mûstafa Mirza immediately against the place, and commenced a most furious assault. At last, conceiving the success of their resistance rather doubtful, the garrison of the citadel, to put an end to the dispute, struck off the head of Sûltan Hyder Mirza and threw it over the walls. Losing courage at the sight, Mûstafa Mirza immediately fled with ten thousand men in his train; by whom he was, however, soon abandoned, with the exception of Hûsseyne Beg and his brothers. But Mûstafa Mirza, not long afterwards, was seized by the same Hûsseyne Beg, and delivered to the new monarch Shah Issmâil, by whom he was finally put to death.

But to resume my particular narrative. Having with the advice of my trusty friends

ministered to him the before-mentioned draught in some broth. Another day spoke in terms of displeasure to Hakeem Ally, one of his physicians; who deavoured to appease him [if it be possible to make common sense of the passage] by assuring him, that things done under the influence of alarm were ways unavailing, and that his constant solicitude was the application of such remedies as were best calculated to relieve him.

My father, however, not less for the purpose of tranquillizing the alarm of his tendants than that of sustaining the remnant of life, consented to eat of some rice and vetches dressed with oil [the Indian dish called kithery, made of rue and dohl and eaten with ghee or clarified butter]. But such was the debilitated state of his bowels, that what he had eaten could not be digested, and a violent dysentery was the result. Hakeim Muzuffer, another of the physicians, now pronounced that his brother physician had grossly erred in his prescriptions, particularly in allowing melon to his patient, at the commencement of the attack. From a just repugnance to take away from any man his reputation, and perhaps from a disposition to forgive, I determined that Hakeim Ally should not be trodden under foot, at a mere malicious suggestion, or an accusation on the part of Múzuffer actuated by mere jealousy. "If," thought I, "God's destiny and the blunders of the medical class did not sometimes concur, we should never die." This much, on a feeling of discretion and kindness, I confessed to Hakeim Ally; but on the bottom of my heart all confidence in his skill was extinguished.

During the last ten days of his illness, I attended my father as usual for two or three quarters of time in the latter part of the day; and this I continued to do until Tuesday the fourteenth of the latter Jummaudy, when he became so greatly reduced that I remained with him from the time at which his medicine was administered in the morning for the remaining part of the day. While he was yet in a state to discriminate, he advised me on one occasion to keep away from the palace; at all events, never to enter unattended by my own guards and retainers: and it now occurred to me that it would be prudent not to neglect such advice; that at such a crisis it behoved me in my intercourse with the palace to employ the most guarded circumspection. One day I entered the citadel accordingly attended by my own retinue. The very next day, without consulting their sovereign, they dared to close the gates of the citadel against me, and actually brought forward the ordnance on the towers.

On Thursday the sixteenth, perceiving the pretence of alarm under which these men were screening themselves, I discontinued my visit to the palace altogether; and I then received by Mokurreb Khaun, a note from Maun Sing expressing on his part the expectation that I would concur in their views. On this occasion I must in gratitude observe, that Mokurreb Khaun employed his oppor-

to be a witness, broke forth among his attendants, in terms of agony and bitter self-reproach, to the following effect: "Alas," said he, "whither am I led, and from whom is it that I have been persuaded to separate myself? What is become of the glory which once surrounded my most ordinary enjoyments, that I should now be driven to address by the respected title of Ameir, those who have arisen from the very scum and dregs of society! That I should be compelled thus passively to look on at the enormities committed by such men on the subjects of my father's government!"

With these expressions upon his lips of repentance, self-reproach, and useless regret, suitable to the desperate lot to which he had abandoned himself, he never-theless refrained, through folly and a false sense of shame, from recurring to the only remedy by which he could have been saved from ruin. For, as I stand in the presence of God, had the unhappy Khossrou, at this moment of returning shame and remorse, presented himself before me, not only would his offences have been overlooked, but his place in my esteem would have been higher than any thing he had previously enjoyed. Of this he had already experienced the strongest proof, when, after his unfilial conduct during the illness of my father, which I must have suspected to have arisen from hostile views and motives of the most dangerous nature, yet on his bare expression of repentance and a returning sense of duty, I freely banished from my mind every unfavourable impression. With regard to the circumstances of my father's last illness, and the means by which the duplicity and hostile designs of some turbulent ameers became known to me on that occasion, I may remark that the influence of my predominant fortune was finally triumphant, and without the slightest effort of human skill God Almighty placed the empire of Hindûstaun at my disposal. The story and the events of which it furnishes the recital are among the extra-ordinary things of the age in which we live, and the particulars may be learnt with sufficient accuracy in the following relation.

On Monday the nineteenth of the former month of Jummaudy, of the year one thousand and fourteen,* during a paroxysm of his complaint, the inmates of my father's harram proposed to him, previous to his taking a particular draught (the *noush-e-jaum* or life draught) to eat of some fruit and other delicacies presented to him. The effect of this indulgence was a violent indigestion, and as his anger was at the same time to a violent degree excited against Amein-ud-dein, whom reproaching in severe terms for his gambling propensities, this combined with the previous malady, produced results so unfavourable, that the whole of the ensuing day was passed in complete abstinence, not a morsel passing his lips. This was the Tuesday. On the next ensuing, which must have been Wednesday, they admini-

* 16th of September, A.D. 1605.

...ions, all the affairs of my government should be classed under three heads, ...called Eymaun-o-thalâtha (*'the three signs'*).*

The second watch of the day had now expired, and the sun having attained ...meridian, I was tempted to avail myself of the appearance of a shady tree to ...er myself against the scorching heat of the atmosphere. At this moment ...e melancholy reflexions passing through my mind, I could not forbear ob...ing to Khaun-e-Auzem, that with all the accompaniments of imperial splen...r, and the absence of all concern for the result, I was neverthelessexposed, ...d still more so were those who attended me, to many very serious inconve...nces, against which we had not had the leisure sufficiently to provide; but ...at were these to the hardships endured by the unhappy boy who was flying ...der all the discouragements of guilt and dismay! Alas, what are our inconve...nces to the sufferings in body and mind under which he labours? I confessed ...t my resentment was, however, not a little aggravated by the reflection that ...ulties should have arisen at so early a period of my reign, and in such a ...ner; that those who had shared for so many years in my toils and solici...de should have thus exposed themselves to the inflictions of my just revenge. ...ertheless it afforded me some consolation that if I had not averted the impu...on of neglect by taking horse at the instant, the wretched fugitive would by ...time have gained some frontier ground, and there found himself joined by ...bers of the factious and discontented—the perfidious hypocrites by whom he ...d have been soon surrounded. That I should personally engage in the ...rprize was therefore without alternative, if I hoped to secure any reason...e prospect of success.

But to proceed with the narrative of this unnatural revolt. Arriving at a ...ge remarkable for its numerous tanks and delightful groves, I determin...d there to encamp. It now appeared that when Khossrou reached Mut...a, which is one of the most venerated places of Hindû worship (the Keblah... in fact), Hussun Beg the Badakhshanian entered the town with a body of his ...ps, and proceeded to exercise upon the defenceless inhabitants every species ...violence and outrage; forcing from every one all the money they could lay ...ds on, and otherwise perpetrating such acts of profligacy and barbarity, that ...re remained no security for either sister, wife, or daughter in the whole neigh...rhood. In short, such were the atrocities of every description of which these ...barians were guilty, that the unhappy Khossrou, not less alarmed than dis...ted at the scenes of licentiousness and havoc of which he was thus compelled to

* If these circumstances did actually occur, and have not been put into the mouth of the imperial ...ian by some ingenious fabulist, it must be confessed that they exhibit a very extraordinary coinci...ce, for the same facts are related, almost word for word, in the life of Homayûn.

caused every one whom we met to be examined on the subject, and all agreed that he was certainly proceeding towards the provinces on the Indus.

About daybreak I arrived at Sekundera, three kôsse from Agrah, where has been erected my father's mausoleum. Here Mirza Hussun, the son of Mirza Shah Rokh, who had been intercepted in attempting to join Shahzâdah Khosrou, was brought to my presence; and as he did not pretend to make any denial of the fact, I ordered him to be mounted on a camel with his hands tied behind him.

On this occasion, doubtless under the influence of my father's blessed spirit, an omen was displayed in my favour, which, however extraordinary it may appear, I cannot omit noticing in this place; and the more so, because it was something similar to what occurred at a remote period to my grandfather Homayûn. That prince, when about the age of fifteen, was on his way to visit the tomb of his father, the illustrious Bâber, and seeing a certain bird crossing his path, observed to his attendants, that if it were his destiny to succeed to the empire, the arrow which he was about to discharge would reach the bird at which he was taking aim. To his great delight the arrow passed right through the head of the bird, which fell dead at his feet. His conclusion was, that thenceforth, no design of any importance should be undertaken on his part without some such appeal to the decrees of destiny, since he had a firm persuasion that the accomplishment would infallibly correspond with the omen.

But to describe what took place in my own regard. I had mounted my horse on quitting my father's resting-place, and had not yet proceeded a kôsse on my march, when a man came to meet me who could not have possessed any knowledge of my person, and I demanded his name. He told me in answer that his name was Mûrad Khaujah. "Heaven be praised," said I, "my desire shall be attained." A little further on, and not far from the tomb of the Emperor Bâber, we met another man, driving before him an ass loaded with fire-wood, and having a burden of thorns on his own back. I asked of him the same information, and he told me to my great delight that his name was Dowlet Khaujah (*'sir fortune'*), and I expressed to those who were in attendance how encouraging it would be if the third person we met should bear the name of Saadet (*'auspicious'*). What then must have been the surprise when proceeding a little further on, on the bank of a rivulet to our right, and observing a little boy who was watching a cow grazing hard by, I ventured to ask him also his name; his answer was, my name is Saadet Khaujah (*'sir felix'*). A clamour of exultation arose among my attendants, and with feelings of equal gratitude and satisfaction, I from that moment determined that, in conformity with these three very auspicious prognostications

person, his zeal and attachment stood above all question, yet at such a crisis sudden departure from my presence might furnish to the evil-disposed and affected some suspicion against his loyalty; and I could not immediately ...t myself of some uneasiness at the thought that his departure was in com... with my son Khoorum, who was something younger than Khossrou. I ...d not observe, that with the generality of mankind the maxim is that the ...ssion should rest in the eldest brother.

...the expiration of the third astronomical hour of the night, at all events, and ...ng after the Ameir-ul Oomra, whom I considered as a son, and who cer... ...y enjoyed the most intimate share of my confidence, had taken to horse, I ...elt myself irresistibly impelled to follow him.* In these circumstances I sent ...ever to recall that minister, giving orders, at the same time, to Sheikh Fereid ...Bukhshy to get in readiness all the troops that night on guard in the palace ...Agrah. I also instructed Ehttemaum Khaun, who was kotwaul, or superin...dant of police of the city, to despatch in every direction the most active ...engers, announcing the event to the principal ameirs on the frontiers, and ...ery city and town through the empire, and requiring their immediate pre...ce under the imperial standard. Those already on the spot received orders ...e prepared to attend my person at the shortest notice.

The forty thousand long-tailed horses feeding in my stables were now brought ...ard, and as many as were required were immediately distributed among the ...t experienced and bravest of my guards and veterans, even to the number of ... and two hundred each to many of the ameirs. I ordered out the whole of ... swiftest road-camels of my establishment, to the number of one hundred ...usand, and to every soldier who was not possessed of one fit for service was ...e given a fresh camel, with every other requisite equipment for the march. ...ery ameir and mûnsebdaur not immediately in attendance was at the same time ...ected to follow me without delay. Doust Mahommed and Mahommed Beg ...e Kabulite, whom I had recently dismissed for Kabûl and the Punjaub, and ...o had encamped some distance beyond Sekundera, now returned with the in...rmation that Shahzâdah Khossrou with thirty thousand followers had passed ...that direction, and that he was marching with his utmost expedition towards ...e Punjaub.

After having distributed the fleetest horses and the swiftest going camels in ...y possession to every man whom I could trust, I mounted my horse; and as it ...med pretty well understood that the fugitive had taken the road to the left, I caused

* Here follow seven couplets, indicative of considerable distrust in mankind, which it would be ...ous to insert, though by no means deficient in point.

to a termination consistent with my wishes. He demanded, however, wi considerable earnestness, what were my orders should matters come to an ext mity, and the Shahzâdah appeal to the sword? I replied, that if he perceiv that the affair could not be determined without a conflict, he was not to fail the application of the resources placed at his disposal. In the concerns of sov reign power there is neither child nor kin. The alien who exerts himself in th cause of loyalty, is worth more than a thousand sons or kindred. He th employs his faculties to promote the interests of his benefactor, must comma the utmost in the power of his sovereign to bestow. The son who in the pr sumption of his heart forgets the duty which he owes to his father, and the u numbered marks of royal bounty so liberally bestowed, is to me, in every sens a stranger. Though my son be considered the stability of the throne, yet wh he betrays his hostile designs, he must be compared to the man who saps th foundation of his house and builds upon the upper story (terrace).

Again, the man who puts the seal to his ingratitude by an open demonstrati of enmity, cannot expect that for him I should any more regard the claims o blood or proximity. Nay, have we not, in this respect, in Isslam a distinguish example laid, in the domestic policy of the monarchs of the house of Othma who for the stability of their royal authority, *of all their sons preserve but on considering it expedient to destroy all the rest.* What, then, if for the preserv tion of the state, if to prevent the disorders that might otherwise interrupt th peace of the world, I should think it necessary to extinguish the mischief, thoug it shew itself in the bosom of my own family? But indenendently of these co siderations, I should have but little to boast of in capacity for the exercise of th power intrusted to me, if, after such a flagrant proof of his total disregard o filial duty, with my eyes open, I should ever again be tempted to intrust th wretched fugitive with the slightest share of authority. This would indeed be with mine own hands to consign the power delegated by the Almighty suprem to those ruinous contingencies to which the world would be exposed, from th baneful effects of profligacy and ignorance. I have never given countenance t an act of violence, even in a matter of the most trifling importance, how then ca I pass it over in an affair of such vital consequence as that which now dema our exertions?

These reflections, suggested by a prudent concern for the general tranquillity may perhaps be considered superfluous to a man of the Ameir-ul-Oomra's expe rience and discretion; but he seemed, on the occasion, to have sought advice from a principle of foresight, and more especially to give confidence and stabili to men's minds. When he had, however, proceeded a short distance from my presence, it occurred to me, that although from long and intimate knowledge my

der was enjoined to collect this arrear, and remit the whole to government:—t the same period, I conferred upon Sherreif Khaun the Afghan, who had mpanied my son Parveiz on the expedition against the Rânah of Oudipour, ation of thirty thousand rupees. On the same day I bestowed the daughter y great uncle, Hindal Mirza, upon Shah Kûly Khaun Mohurrem. She had n chosen by my father to take care of my son Khoorum.

n the evening of Sunday the eighth of Zilhudje, of the year one thousand fourteen,* and at the expiration of the second watch of the night, it was t, misled by the counsels of evil-disposed and turbulent men, my son Khossrou ame a fugitive from his father's presence, directing his views towards the itory of the Punjaub.

oon after the hour just stated, the chiraghtchey, or lamp director of Khossrou's ehold, who was attached to the interests of Vezzeir-ul-Moulk, came and rted to that minister, that at the second watch of the night the Shahzâdah left his quarter in the palace, and that the night-watch had expired without re-appearance. Vezzeir-ul-Moulk conducted the man immediately to the eir-ul-Oomra, who had just quitted my presence and was on his way home, to whom this extraordinary occurrence was now communicated. The eir-ul-Oomra repaired without delay to the palace, and having with some iculty awakened the eunuchs in Khossrou's quarter, from them it was ascertained that the prince had actually absconded. A further delay of hour and a half was consumed in making these necessary inquiries, and then Ameir-ul-Oomra hastened to make known to me the circumstances of an ent so extraordinary. I had retired for the night to the interior of my harram, d the minister had desired Khoujah Ekhlauss to inform me that he had some-ing to communicate which demanded instant attention.

Conceiving that some intelligence had arrived either of disturbances in Gûjerat, hich was ever the abode of turbulence and sedition, or of some hostile move-ents peradventure in the south of India, I joined the minister with no other pectation; when I received from him in detail all that he had been able to cover of the Shahzâdah's unaccountable disappearance. In my first surprise, demanded in some perturbation what was best to be done; whether I should ke horse in person, or despatch my son Khoorum in pursuit of the fugitive. he Ameir-ul-Oomra observed in reply, that if I would favour him with my mmands, he entertained not a doubt but that, with God's assistance and the fluence of my imperial fortune, he should be able to bring this untoward event to

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* 11th of March, A.D. 1606. If this date be correct, the event which he is about to describe must occurred about four months and eighteen days after his accession to the throne, and should have introduced long since.

arise, if my ordinance for the general remission of zekaat throughout th empire should extend to all descriptions of merchants, or such as thought prop to assume that character. It instantly occurred to me that this representati on the part of the worthy Kauzy had its origin, nevertheless, in views of sord self-interest, and not, as he wished to make it appear, in zeal for the advan ment of the revenue. I therefore issued a further decree, ordaining that wh ever the question of merchant or no merchant, I peremptorily remitted th duties to all passengers conveying effects through the country without distin tion. I caused it to be made known, moreover, that no person serving in m armies was to presume to transgress an order thus publicly repeated; and tho employed to guard the passes into the country were charged, as they valu their heads, to beware, a thousand times over to beware, of making the colle tion of duty or any other object the pretext for oppressing the peacea traveller with exactions in any shape whatever.

Seyed Kamaul, the son of Seyed Abdulwahab the Bokharian, had been inves by my father with the government of Dehly, an appointment which he had be permitted to retain for a number of years. In the discharge of this importa trust it now however appeared, that he had indulged in practices utterly inco sistent with that integrity which should ever distinguish the character of a ju and upright government. For this it was at first my determination to bring hi to condign punishment, the love of justice being the predominant principle my nature. But recollecting the distinction which he enjoyed in my fathe friendship, I was prevailed upon to forgive, without inflicting upon him a other penalty than suspension from his authority.

When I decreed the remission of zekaat (or tenths) throughout Hindusta the indulgence was extended to the province of Kabûl and its dependencies which latter altogether the revenue amounted in the time of my father to a kro of ashrefies.* Now the province of Kabûl may be considered to bear towa Hindustaun the same relation as Irân to Tûuraun. I was therefore desirous th the natives of Khorassaun and Ma-wer-un-Neher (Transoxiana) should enj the same advantages in the bounty of my government, in every respect, as th people of Hindustaun.

I had transferred the jaguir of Assof Khaun to Bauz Bahauder; but as th former stated that he had a claim on his jaguir for an arrear of two laks of rupe I ordered the transfer to be suspended until such arrear should have been pa up. In the meantime, I directed that the sum of one lak of rupees should b immediately given to Assof Khaun from the imperial treasury, while Bauz head

* Nine krour of rupees, or £9,000,000.

and butter.* And this, it is to be remembered, although the elephants descended to me on the demise of my father, alone amounted to twelve [illegible]nd, was the daily allowance allotted to each animal. From among all the [illegible] the same elephant was selected for my morning rides, and for this pur[illegible] there was always placed upon its back a throne or howdah of solid gold. [illegible] maunns Hindustauny of gold was moreover wrought into rings, chains, [illegible]her ornaments, for its neck, breast, and legs: and lastly, its body was [illegible]d all over every day with the dust of sandal-wood.

[illegible]aving been represented to me by certain individuals, that the departed [illegible]adah had, as formerly intimated, made use of force not only in the purchase [illegible] elephants but of almost every other species of property, I caused it to [illegible]claimed, that if any of the persons thus aggrieved would come forward [illegible] their claims I was ready to make a restitution, in behalf of my brother, [illegible]y loss they might have sustained in their transactions with him.

[illegible]d in my possession a certain fowling-piece, for which I understood that [illegible] Rustum had offered to the former owner the sum of twelve thousand [illegible] and ten horses, without success. As this appeared to me an extravagant [illegible]deration, I wrote to that person desiring to know what were the peculiar [illegible]encies of the piece that could have induced such an offer. In reply he [illegible]ed me, in the first place, that if fired a hundred times successively [illegible] intermission, the piece was never inconveniently heated; in the next [illegible], that it was self-igniting, *i. e.* it was a firelock and not a matchlock; [illegible] third, that a ball discharged from it never missed the mark; lastly, that [illegible]ied a ball of five mathkals weight. All these excellencies notwithstanding [illegible]de him a present of the gun.

[illegible] Saturday the seventeenth of Shavaul, of the year one thousaud and [illegible],† I presented my son Khoorum‡ with a necklace of pearl and a [illegible]d jeighah or aigrette, altogether of the value of eight laks of rupees.‖ [illegible] of time, indeed, Khoorum became the proprietor of jewels to a very [illegible]rdinary amount. I only wish that in genius, and virtue, and every good [illegible]ty, he may surpass all my other children in an equal degree.

[illegible] this same day I received from Kauzy Abdullah of Kabûl a written memo[illegible]presenting the inconvenience and injury to the public revenue that would arise,

* [illegible]ing the maunn equal to 28 lbs., this would make about one hundred and ninety-six pounds [illegible] per meal.

† [illegible] of December A.D. 1611, it was exactly the first day of the second month of the seventh [illegible] his reign.

‡ [illegible]wards the Emperor Shahjahaun.

‖ [illegible]

despatch camels. These were accompanied with all the appendages, all the requisites of a splendid court, with articles of gold brocade from China and elsewhere, the finest piece-goods of the manufacture of Gújerat, and other commodities of the most valuable description. His jewels alone were estimated at fifty laks of ashrefies;* the specie in his treasury amounted to six or eight laks more: the whole of which was now brought to account in my presence.

On the same occasion the three hundred women of my brother's harram were put under my protection. To these I caused it to be explained, that if any were desirous of being disposed of in marriage they were to make it known to me, and they would be betrothed to such of the retainers of my court as I might think fit. It is to be observed, that each of these females possessed a regular allotment of jewels, vestments of gold brocade, utensils of gold and silver, a canopied elephant and horses, as also a separate establishment of handsome eunuchs and beautiful female slaves, and last of all a dower or marriage portion of three laks of rupees; all of which I freely relinquished to be conveyed with them to such of my Ameirs as they chose to espouse: thus at once relieving them from their constitutional wants, and myself from female importunity.

Among my brother's elephants devolved to me on the occasion was one which I could not but express the greatest admiration, and to which I gave the name of Indraguj (*the elephant of India*). It was of a size I never before beheld: such as to get upon its back required a ladder of fourteen steps. It was of a disposition so gentle and tractable, that under its most furious excitements if an infant unwarily threw itself in its way, it would take hold of it with its trunk and place it out of danger with the utmost care and tenderness. The animal was at the same time of such unparalelled speed and activity, that the fleetest horse was not able tokeep up with it, and such was its courage that it would attack with perfect readiness an hundred of the fiercest of its kind.

Such in other respects, although it may appear in some degree tedious to dwell upon the subject, were indeed the qualities of this noble and intelligent quadruped, that I assigned a band of music to attend upon it, and it was always preceded by a company of forty spearmen. It had for its beverage every morning a Hindustauny maunn of liquor, which is equal to ten maunns of Irák; and every morning and evening there were boiled for its meals five maunns of rice and two maunns of beef or mutton, with one maunn of oil, or clarified

* This at nine rupees to the ashrefy would amount to the sum of four krour and fifty laks of rupees, or £4,500,000.

enriched, and a charger with embroidered and jewelled caparison. Thus accumulate upon him an hundred-fold the distinctions which he had held my father's government, and still further aggrandized him by investing with the government of Bahar, with the most ample powers for the exercise authority. And yet more, I conferred upon each of his eleven sons rank of one or two thousand horse, according to circumstances: so that, of all the nobles of my court, none ever attained to such distinction, among alone the family of Ettemaud-ud-Dowlah, his children and relatives, whose hands, indeed, have now been consigned all the cares of my govern-

At this period my attention was engaged in regulating the currency of empire, for which purpose I issued directions for a new coinage, the silver and mohrs of gold in present circulation among the commercial and classes having become in the course of time much debased or deteriorated, object being to give to the new coinage an advantage over the old, and any ance unfavourable, to the new coinage being inadmissible. (Qu.) Furthermore, having entrusted the funds destined for the support of the poor to the superintendence of Meiran Sudder Jahaun, I consigned management of the widows' fund on the same principle to Hadjy Koukah. At the same period I advanced Zauhid Khaun from the order of fifteen hund to that of two thousand.

Another regulation which I considered it expedient to introduce about this period was the following: in the time of my father the superintendant of the department, whenever it was thought fit to distinguish any person by the gift of a horse or elephant, the supply being always furnished from the imperial stud, was known to enjoy an annual profit to the amount of five laks of rupees,* equivalent to fifteen thousand tomauns of Irâk. This practice, which I considered equally absurd and oppressive, I caused to be abolished altogether; and directed that henceforth the imperial bounty was not to be encumbered with exaction in the shape of fee, perquisite, or emolument whatever.

It may be proper to mention here the arrival about this period of Sâlbahan from the Dekhan, with the property and effects of the departed Sûltan Danial, the middlemost of my brothers, which he now placed at my disposal. Among these may be enumerated fifteen hundred elephants of the largest class, each of which might be considered cheap at the price of four laks of rupees.† To these must be added eight thousand horses of the best breed of Irâk and Khorasaun, none of less value than the other, and eight thousand road or despatch

* £50,000. † £40.000 for a single elephant!

the same piece killed twenty antelopes of a day. I made, however, a vow, th after attaining to the age of fifty, I would never more make use of a fowlin piece, and this was occasioned by the following extraordinary circumstance.

One day being engaged on a hunting party, among a herd of deer or antelop which we had in view, I perceived one coloured and marked so beautifully, tha singled it out for my own pursuit, strictly forbidding any of my retinue from a companying me, knowing, indeed, that the animal would be rendered wilder b the appearance of numbers. I discharged my piece, the same Droostandaz the creature repeatedly, without perceiving that my shot had any effect. A often as I closed upon the animal it bounded off, as if in entire derision. A last, after a third shot, I had once more approached close to the antelope, wh givinga sudden spring, it in an instant disappeared altogether. Either from th sudden spring, or from some cause that I am unable to explain, I fell into a swo and remained in a state of total insensibility for the space of two hours; un indeed, impatient at my non-appearance, my son Khoorum hastened to the sp in search of me, and applying rose-water to my temples, succeeded at last in r storing me to my faculties. I continued, however, in a state of debility an anxiety of mind for nearly a month; and from that day I solemnly vowed th after attaining the age of fifty years, I would never make use of my gun in th chase.

Before I dismiss the subject of my royal father, I cannot omit to observe, th in the article of abstinence he was so far scrupulous, that for nearly three mont in the year he never tasted animal food; but for the whole of the month in whi he was born, he strictly forbid that any animal whatever should be deprived of li It must however be acknowledged, that he did not keep the fast in the month Ramzaun; but at the festival at the conclusion, he never failed to repair to th Eidgah, where he performed with due solemnity the double course of pray with all the other prescribed acts of devotion: and to compensate for his omiss of the general fast, he bestowed their freedom upon three hundred slaves, an distributed fifty thousand rupees among the poor

Among those who had been most closely attached to me during the period my minority, was Jummaul-ud-dein Anjû, who had, indeed, in the time of m father, given the strongest proofs of devotion to my interests. He had hithe held the rank of one thousand, but with the title of Ezz-ud-Dowlah, I now rais him to that of twelve thousand, a dignity never before conferred on any of th Ameirs of my father's court or my own. I bestowed upon him, at the same tim the insignia of the great drum and standard, a sword set with diamonds, a bal simila

* So named after his mother's tribe, the Khoorma or Cutchwa of Ambér.

ld not by any argument be prevailed upon to consent to this act of ven-ce, however just. It was nevertheless carried to consummation without r ceremony, for the unfortunate Mirza, by a hint from Râï Sing, acting the directions of Rajah Bugwandas, was suddenly thrown from the back e elephant to the earth, and his head struck off by Sheir Mahommed.

t to return to Ekhtiaur-ul-Moulk. That chief, when he found it unavoida-had dispatched a messenger to assure the emperor, that so far from any e design, he was come with no other intention, than of humbly testifying yalty at the foot of the throne. The imperial troops having, however, as ave seen, in the confusion of the sudden alarm, commenced the attack, the ge could never be delivered, and he now applied his efforts to make his e towards the hills. He was, however, soon pursued, and finally overtaken hraub Beg the Túrkomân, who, dismounting from his horse, immediately k off his head.* Perceiving what had happened, his followers, at least such m as were well mounted, fled in all directions, although ten thousand of were thus unnecessarily put to the sword.

fter this second victory on the same day, my father entered Ahmedabad ut further accident. He remained here for the short period of seven days ; when leaving the province under the government of the Khaun Khanan, n of Beyram Khaun, he returned to the metropolis.

was subsequent to this, that the attention of my father was engaged in the est of Bengal, and the reduction of the impregnable fortresses of Chittore Rintumpour, both of which latter undertakings he conducted in person. hief of the name of Jeimul, who commanded the garrison of Chittore, while ing the operations of the besiegers through one of the embrasures of the , he shot through the head with his own hand ; and the piece with which xhibited this proof of his skill as a marksman, to which he gave the name of standauz (*straightforward—never to miss*), is still in my possession. It must d have been a gun of matchless excellence, since my father is known, on good hority, to have killed with it, at different times, of birds and beasts not less than nty thousand head ; which is not less a proof of his singular skill than the good-of the piece. I am myself not without some skill in the use of this weapon, g exceedingly fond of field sports of every kind, and having frequently with the

* ccording to Abûl Fazzel, Ekhtiaur-ul-Moulk had been left by the rebel Mirzas with his division p in check the numerous garrison of Ahmedabad, under Khaun-e-Auzem Mirza Koukah and ddeen Khaun : but hearing of the defeat of his associates, and the capture of Mahommed Hus-e Mirza, he was making his retreat ; and passing the right flank of the imperialists with about two d horse, while the main body was going round by the left, when being attacked in the manner ibed, he was compelled to fly.

he might attempt to escape, he placed him on horseback, and brought him my father. Two other persons, however, claiming the merit of his capture, father directed his prisoner to decide the point. "Alas!" replied the capt chief, "the emperor's salt has been my captor:" that is, the guilt of ingratit for the bounty of my sovereign has led me into the snare. Moved with comp sion at his sad reverse, however merited, my father directed that his hands sho be unbound from behind, and secured before him. He was then consigned to t custody of Maun Sing Derbaury; but that chief, when he imploringly begg for a draught of water, ungenerously beating him with both hands about t head, my father interposed, and expressing his high displeasure, directed attendants to relieve the unfortunate man from his own reserve. On this Mirza seems to have intimated to his conqueror, that it would be advisable yet to lay aside his precautions, for that, although one of the princes of Gûjer had been defeated, and was his prisoner, there were three others still at large the wilderness, who might yet occasion much trouble and alarm.

Slowly continuing his march towards the city, my father now transferred t care of Hûsseyne Mirza to Râi Sing,* whose daughter has at present a place my domestic establishment, with orders to mount him, with his hands bound, the back of an elephant, and so convey him into the town. While he was th proceeding, another body of troops suddenly made its appearance in great for in the midst of the jungle, which although at the moment unknown, was aft wards discovered to be a division of Gûjerat, thirty thousand strong, unde Ekhtiaur-ul-Moulk, one of the most powerful chiefs of the province, who no professed to be on his way to do homage at the feet of the emperor.

The imperial troops, naturally enough, becoming alarmed at this fresh displa of a hostile force, my father ordered his martial music to strike up once mor and his warriors, mounted on fresh horses, again drew out for battle. In th mean time, Rajah Maun Sing,† Shûjayet Khaun, and Rajah Bugwandas‡ wit some light troops, advanced towards the strangers, and immediately commence an attack; a volley of arrows, and a fire from nearly five thousand camel-gun together with a simultaneous discharge of two thousand rockets, being directe at once upon the supposed enemy.

In this situation of affairs, Rajah Bugwandas sent a message to my father, re minding him that it was no longer safe to risk the escape of Mahommed Hû seyne Mirza, and he therefore entreated his orders to strike off the rebel's hea as events seemed to have assumed an aspect of rather an alarming tendency Such, however, was my father's compassionate disposition, that, notwithstand the numerous proofs of ingratitude and perfidy on the part of the family, he

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* Rajah of Beekanair.

† Heir-apparent of Ambêr.

‡ Rajah of Ambêr.

They now began to collect the spoil, and nearly two thousand elephants, two and valuable Parthian horses (horses of Irâk) in mailed caparisons, and thousand* dromedaries, with the small guns on their backs, were led to father's presence. Shûjayet Khaun was foremost to congratulate him upon magnitude of his victory, which could be ascribed alone, he said, to the position of Providence, with the influence, perhaps, of his own glorious ry; for no one, he observed, could have calculated on the presence of the so entirely unexpected, or that the defeat of an enemy's force so greatly rior should have been so strangely accomplished.

Having made his offering of praise and thanksgiving to the Dispenser of Vic- my father proceeded slowly towards the city of Ahmedabad, and while on way thither, it was announced to him that Seyf Khaun Koukah had nobly in the battle, and had departed to the mercy of his Creator. For a mo- he became deeply affected by the report; but recovering his self-possession, came sufficiently composed to listen to the particulars of his foster-brother's who was the brother of Zeyne Khaun.

is curious to relate, that some days previous to this battle of Ahmedabad, father had given an entertainment to his Ameirs, at which were present a ber of Shanahbein,† or blade-bone soothsayers, of whom he demanded, if science enabled them to declare to whom, on the impending conflict, the ry would incline. They pronounced without hesitation, that the victory ld be with him who was the object of homage, but that one of his most dis- ished nobles would fall a martyr in the conflict. That same night Seyf expressed to my father his earnest hope that this destiny might be his , for he was come to die in the cause of his benefactor; and as he wished, came to pass. In the course of the battle, he had received two desperate ds in the face, and he was hastening, covered with blood, to present him- to his sovereign, when intercepted by the division of the enemy under Ma- med Hûsseyne Mirza, he fell, sword in hand, fighting to the last gasp.

Mahommed Hûsseyne Mirza, who had usurped to himself the title and dignity King of Gûjerat, was led, in his flight from the scene of discomfiture, through ve or thicket of baubûl trees, the thorns of which being extremely sharp strong, one of them pierced the foot of his horse, which fell, and the Mirza constrained to continue his flight on foot. At this moment Guddah Ally one of those who had the privilege of unreserved access to the presence of father, overtook and secured the fugitive; so tying his hands behind, lest he

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* More probably 5000.

† Literally *inspectors of blade-bone*, a sort of aruspices common in the East, who pretend to foretell from the lines on the blade-bone of sheep: akin to divination by grounds of tea in the west.

every direction, might be said, to all appearance, to have met with total annihilation.

My father, after proceeding a short distance in advance, suddenly checked his career, discreetly retaining in his hands the reins of strict discipline: while intent on observing the strange discomfiture which was at work among the enemy, who were flying in every direction, as if pursued by an hundred thousand warriors foaming with vengeance. In these circumstances, left with a few only of his personal retinue, my father was attacked by Mahommed Hüsseyn Mirza with his division, and for some time stood opposed to the most imminent personal danger. Maun Sing Derbaury, one of his attendants, combatted successfully in defence of his master; but Rajah Ragudas, another, was killed on the spot; while the faithful Woffadaur, a third, having received three wounds in his arm and hands, was borne from his horse, and compelled to combat on foot for the life of his benefactor.

Fortunately, the assailants seemed still unapprized that they were in presence of the emperor; and it was at such a crisis that three of the enemy's horsemen were seen making directly for his person. Two of these unaccountably turned aside, and passed on without attacking him; but the third continued to approach until close upon him. My father had seized a javelin from his armour-bearer, and was about to transfix him through the breast, when the man called for mercy and declared that he came for the express purpose of announcing the splendid opportunity that lay before him; for that, panic-stricken by the exploding of the rockets, the enemy had neither strength nor courage for further resistance: and having thus delivered himself he rode away.

It was afterwards discovered that these three men had actually demanded to be employed against the person of the emperor, whom for some reward they had probably engaged to destroy. But approaching the spot where he fought, two of the assassins, appalled by the majesty of his presence, reined their horses the other way and withdrew: the third with greater boldness advanced close up to the emperor; but observing him couch his lance, and that death was otherwise inevitable, his only resource was to salute him with the annunciation of his victory, an expedient by which he contrived to escape with life.* My father continued to maintain the unequal conflict without shrinking, until the troops of the centre drawing near, gave positive information of the entire discomfiture and dispersion of the rebels. He then gave orders that the imperial troops should pursue to the utmost extremity, and not suffer a man to escape alive.

The

* According to Abûl Fazzel, who describes the conflict with great minuteness, all the three separately attacked the person of Akbar, and one of them actually cut him across the thigh; but that he escaped further harm by his singular address and activity, and the well managed movements of his charger.

lerive courage from our cowardice, and not one of us will be suffered to ape. In full reliance on the power of the Creator we came to this spot, and our part, with one mind and one countenance, to make a concentrated against our adversaries: covered as they are with crimes and blood, the cannot be doubtful. It is with the clenched fist, not with the open hand, our task is to be accomplished."

t this moment Mahommed Hûsseyne Mirza disengaged himself from the s of the enemy, and advanced to the front; observing which, Shah Kûly an Mohurrem and Husseyne Khaun Túrkoman called out that the crisis for arge was arrived: to which my father cheerfully agreed. "I have secured you," said he, "the aid of Providence, and the moment is arrived." They rdingly moved forward, but slowly and deliberately, until they came nearly ntact with their opponents.

y father was mounted on the occasion on a favourite charger, to which he given the name of Kohpârah (montis pars), and which was repeatedly known ve rushed into the very jaws of an elephant. Clad in mail from head ot, with lance in hand and quiver to his waist, and supported by the distinguished heroes of his court, he now put himself in an attitude for the ge. The war band, composed of forty-five pairs of kettle-drums on hants, with thirty horns and fifty trumpets, struck up at once, and the s, to the cry of Allah-hû-Akbar, rushed sword in hand upon the enemy.

he terror which accompanied my father's renown, without any extraordinary t, carried all before it on the left of the enemy; but the left wing of the erial army having been repulsed by Mahommed Hûsseyne Mirza, that chief ed ground considerably on that side, and there stood embattled, in no little fidence of success. Some troops of the advanced guard, however, arriving the spot, served for some time to keep him in check.

n these circumstances, my father being personally exposed to an incessant harge of rockets from all quarters, it so happened that one of the rebel ps let off a rocket, which by accident taking the direction of one of r own elephants which carried a load of five hundred of these horrible ements of destruction, the whole immediately exploded, one after another, e direction of their own ranks. These rockets striking at the same time ng the other elephants and camels which carried the same destructive ctiles, to the number of a hundred thousand, all exploded in turn; and the hants in their affright rushing upon their own army, the most tremendous sion took place, nearly fifty thousand horses being either destroyed or fully mutilated by the rockets. The effects of this fearful explosion were less destructive among the men, and the whole immediately dispersing in

every

turning his face towards the Keblah, or sanctuary of Makkah, humbly and earnestly besought the support of Him, who is the giver of victory and the author of all existence. Then remounting his charger, in perfect reliance on the aid of Providence, with the distinguished few who had the glorious destiny to be in attendance, he plunged fearlessly into the stream, and through the goodness of God, and the victorious fortune of his house, firmly established himself on the opposite bank; the whole of the companions of his glory on this occasion not amounting, when collected together, to more than five thousand horse. At this moment my father asked for his cloak (yelghah), which he had handed to Rajah Debchund, one of his attendants, to take care of, but which they now said had been lost or thrown away in the rapidity of the passage. "This," said my father, "is also an omen in our favour: the avenues to the field of battle will now be thrown more widely open; that is, we shall enter the conflict without incumbrance."

The imperial troops were by this time arriving in small parties on the river side, and plunging also into the stream, the body about the person of Akbar soon accumulated to ten thousand horse, together with one thousand elephants and two thousand gunners or matchlock-men. The refractory Mirzas, hurried to destruction by their destiny, continued all this time unmoved, at the head of a force so superior, ready for battle against their imperial master, for whose numerous acts of bounty and generosity they were making this ungrateful return.

Khaun-e-Auzem, who could not have conceived that his master had conveyed himself and his army to the spot with such astonishing celerity, now left the city and threw himself at his feet, swearing many an oath that he could yet scarcely believe the evidence of his senses. He was followed by Assuf Khaun and most of the other Ameirs of Ahmedabad, who successively hastened to present themselves to their sovereign.

All of a sudden, from among the trees of a neighbouring jungle, a body of the enemy made its appearance; and my father, with reliance unabated on his Maker, to whose providence he had resigned his cause, prepared with fortitude to receive the attack. Mahommed Kûly Khaun and Terkhan Diwaunah, with some others from the centre, made a movement forward; but suffering themselves to be repulsed by the enemy after a rather feeble attempt, my father expressed his displeasure, and addressing himself to Rajah Bugwandas,* briefly observed, that however superior the force of the enemy, which he confessed to be rather beyond what he could have wished, yet that they had no alternative but in their swords. "If," said he, "we but once shew our backs, the enemy

* Of Ambér.

leman desired these equally ill-fated, and ignorant as they seemed to be, to informed that the troops they saw before them were the advanced guard of the rial armies, and that the emperor in person was present on the spot. hough their hearts had already begun to sink within them, and they could not divest themselves of their alarms, they ventured, however, to dispute the fact. That absurdity is that you state!" said these mistaken men; "fourteen days only, our spies left the emperor at Futtahpour, and the army with its elephants and equipments could scarcely be conveyed hither in less than two months; this therefore must be a falsehood, and its authors could only be states and vagabonds escaped from the hands of justice."

My father now gave directions to place the troops in order of battle. Still there happened somewhat of delay; but the light troops bringing the report that enemy were arming themselves, he finally gave the word to pass the river. such a crisis, however, instead of obeying the orders conveyed to him to quit ground, Khaun Kullan wrote to my father, to represent that the force of the army was great beyond all proportion of numbers; that the four greatest princes Guzerat were united at their head; that they had nearly two hundred thousand horse claid in mail or quilted coats, and twenty thousand camel-mounted matchlock-men, resolved to conquer or die; that they had moreover thirty thousand camel loads of rockets. That of all this he had, he said, undoubted intelligence. Until, therefore, the imperial army should have been joined by troops under Khaun Khanan, Khaun-e-douraun, Khaun-e-jahaun, with the greater part of the expected reinforcements, it would be utterly repugnant to every maxim of prudence and discipline, with so small a body of men to cross the river, and place themselves in front of an enemy so very superior.

To this my father replied, that he had ever, and on this occasion more than any other, reposed his confidence in the goodness of God, and in his never-failing support. That had his reliance been placed on human aid, he would never have committed himself thus almost alone to the presence of his mortal enemies. "The victory," said he, "is now in other hands. Whatever may be his will, must come to pass. But the enemy is advancing to give us battle, and it would be height of absurdity, by any wavering or indecision on our part, to confirm and give him courage at such a moment."

Thus, although the cavalry and greater part of his principal generals were to be in the rear, and those present did not amount to more than five thousand; though most of the Ameirs about his person urged the expediency of delay until the arrival of the main body to his support, my father resisted every importunity, and continued unshaken in his resolution to give battle. Just as matters had arrived at this perilous crisis, he suddenly dismounted from his horse, and turning

a numerous body of troops under Khaun-e-Auzem,* my father entered into consultation with some of his confidential servants, as to the measures to be adopted towards the punishment of these hostile proceedings. Beiby Begum, the mother of Khaun-e-Auzem, who was my father's nurse, was also present at this council by particular desire of my father. In concurrence with the suggestions of his faithful council, it was determined that a force should be immediately brought together, and my father proceeding in person at the head of his troops, the account with these redoubtable adversaries would be settled without much difficulty. It is to be observed, that from Futtahpour, where my father then held his court, to Gûjerat, is a distance of two months' journey. Nevertheless, having completed his equipments and put the troops in motion, my father by forced marches, which he continued night and day, sometimes on horseback and sometimes on a despatch camel, in fourteen days accomplished that which on ordinary occasions was a journey of two months, and placed himself in the very front of his enemies.

This was on a Wednesday in the second Jummaudy of the year nine hundred and eighty.† When close upon the insurgents, and not a vestige of the imperial garrison to be seen, it was in debate whether it would not be advisable to make a night attack upon the enemy. To this, however, my father objected, observing that these night attacks were the resource of the timid only, and suited those alone who proceeded by trick. At break of day therefore of the ensuing morning he directed the great drum for battle to be sounded, and a band of forty-five pair of kettle-drums and twenty Tatar horns striking up at once where they least expected it, produced the utmost astonishment in the camp of the enemy, whose attention had been hitherto entirely occupied with the siege of the opposite town.

Having mounted his horse and proceeded a little in advance, my father came to the right bank of the river Sâbermatty, and observing a body of the enemy on the opposite bank, gave instant orders that the troops should plunge into the stream in their present array, and at all hazards cross to the other side. He observed at the same time that the ground on the right bank was so overgrown with jungle, or brushwood, as to be most inconvenient for battle, and that if he allowed of any delay for the purpose of procuring boats, the enemy would rally their courage and become contumacious.

In these circumstances of surprise and alarm Mahommed Hûsseyne Mirza despatched some light troops to the river side, to demand of Sûbhaun Kûly, a Tûrkoman chief who had advanced to the opposite bank, what were the objects of this unlooked-for array, and who was the general who commanded? The Tûrkoman

* He was Akbar's foster-brother, therefore sometimes called Mirza Koukah.

† October, A.D. 1572.

which, having with some difficulty saved from being pillaged, together with elephant on which it had been mounted, he brought to the presence of my er. The mutilated head of Himmû, together with his tiara set with diads, sapphires, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, to the value of sixty laks of ees,* was at the same time laid before my father.

his being his first victory, my father considered it an omen auspicious to the of his reign. In the exultation of the moment, he raised the fortunate Shah Khaun to the rank of an ameir of five thousand, with the insignia of the and standard. Treasure and valuable effects to an incredible amount, her with three thousand elephants, fifty thousand camels, and other articles numerous for detail, were the immediate fruits of this triumphant day. On occasion it was suggested to my father by his minister Beyram Khaun, to a wound on the lifeless body, as a token of the consummation of his victory the infidel. In reply my father observed, that sometime back, while amusing f in his father's library, and looking at some paintings, the performance of ummud the painter, a portrait was placed in his hands, which from the ation of the attendants he found to be that of Himmû. "Instantly," said I tore the thing to tatters, and threw it away from me. Let it suffice now he man has met with his deserts; I considered that I had then achieved my y over him."

en they came to count the slain in this battle, it was found that fourteen and of the infidels had been put to the sword, exclusive of those who escaped the field and perished of their wounds.

ccording to Abûl Fazzel this battle was fought, like most other battles for overeignty of Hindûstaun, in the vicinity of Pânipet, on Thursday the d of Mohurrim of the nine hundredth and sixty-fourth of the Hidjera, just ar later than described in the memoirs. The historian further states that d, though pierced through the eye with an arrow, was yet alive when ht before Akbar, and obstinately refusing to speak, the young emperor, h urged to it, declined notwithstanding to pollute his sword with the of his defenceless captive; on which the minister Beyram Khaun put the unate man to death with his own hand. With a feeling which reflects on his memory, Abûl Fazzel expresses his regret that the life of so brave ble a man should not have been spared, and his talents employed, as they have been with perfect security, in the service of the state].

ondly. Again, when information was brought to him at Futtahpour that people of Gûjerat, under Mirza Ibrauhim Hûsseyne and Mirza Shah Mirza, rrounded and laid siege to the city of Ahmedabad, although defended by a numerous

* Five krour and forty laks of rupees, or £5,400,000.

one hundred thousand horse, fifty thousand camel-mounted musqueteers, and three thousand elephants trained for the field; and that he should have borne, moreover, the reputation of being extremely brave in action. He sent, however, to my father a message, reminding him that, young as he was, he ought not to imagine that he was able to sustain a contest with a monarch of his superior might. "Come not," said he, "within the reach of my numerous and resistless troops and elephants, lest in the collision thou come to harm. I resign to thee all the territories eastward from the Jumnah to the uttermost limits of Bengal, and *mine* be the remainder of Hindûstaun." My father, in reply, desired him to reflect that there was little to boast of in his success over the unequal force of a petty Hindy chief—where was the renown of throwing a chain over his own slave? "Without experience of a battle with the brave, or having known aught of a shock with the warriors of my race, what canst thou conceive of the horrors of an equal conflict? The shadows of night disappear at the approach of day, when the Lord of Light unsheathes his sword of splendour. At to-morrow's dawn come to the field in thy strongest array, we shall then soon see whom God is disposed to favour."

Receiving this answer of defiance from my father, Himmû proceeded to communicate to his generals his arrangement for the battle, detaching a strong division with one thousand elephants in advance of the main body, and placing the remaining two thousand elephants in reserve in the rear of his line. In this disposition he presented himself at the head of his army and led them to the conflict. My father, on his part, having distributed his band of martial music upon elephants, and formed an advanced guard of five thousand mailed cavalry, with one thousand trained elephants, without further concern mounted his elephant, and placed himself directly in front of Himmû. It is proper to state that my father's army consisted of no more than fifty thousand horse, and eight thousand camel-mounted gunners or matchlock-men. The battle commenced with a discharge of arrows and fire-arms, the elephants of the contending hosts being at the same time urged against each other by their keepers.

My father's fortune soon declared itself. An arrow transpierced the ill-fated Himmû through the head, and thus was he despatched to the abode of the wretched. His troops perceiving the catastrophe, immediately broke their ranks and fled: and thus were his boasted elephants, his treasures, and all the implements of his grandeur, at a single shift of fortune given to the winds. Shah Kûly Khaun Mohurrem, with some of his followers, happened to reach the spot where lay the throne of the fallen infidel, in the formation of which had been expended, in gold and jewels, the sum of two laks of five methkaly ashrefies,* and

* At nine rupees to the ashrefy, this would be eighteen laks of rupees, or £180,000 sterling.

all men, and under every variety of circumstances, place thine eye and heart ...tly inclined towards thine everlasting Friend."

...t in his character one prominent feature was, that with every religion he ...s to have entered, through life, into terms of unreserved concord, and with ...irtuous and enlightened of every class, of every sect and profession of faith, ...d not scruple to associate, as opportunities occurred; for the most part ...ting the live-long night to this species of social enjoyment. And here it is ...remembered that, generally speaking, and taking the day and night together, ...eriod of sleep did not extend in the whole to more than one pahar (or ...h) of time.

His personal courage was of that fearless and imperturbable nature, that he ...een seen not unfrequently to spring from the back of a female elephant to ... of the most furious and refractory, known to have destroyed many a keeper, ...this to the astonishment of those who had been most accustomed to the ma...ment of these enormous animals. On other occasions where the elephant ... so furious and intractable as not to endure the approach of the female, he ...d ascend either a wall or a tree by which the elephant was to pass, and from ...ce cast himself without hesitation on the back of the infuriated animal; the ...rious energies with which the Almighty had endowed him being such that ...lephant, as if by instinct of some supernatural influence, quietly submitted ... management.

...proof of his more than ordinary muscular powers, I shall relate, that he ...d a massive iron chain to be made of ten Hindûstauny maunns, equal to an ...dred maunns of Irâk in weight, which every morning he was in the habit of ...king about with such apparent facility as to be quite astonishing, it being an ...ation which required an uncommon degree of strength.

Of his extraordinary skill in military movements, indefatigable activity, and pro...ency in the art of war, it will be sufficient to record the two following instances. ...st. It is well known that when he ascended the throne of Hindûstaun, on ...mise of my grandfather Hemayûn, my father was not more than fourteen ... of age. It was at such a crisis that the infidel Himmû, who had made ...elf monarch of the Afghans, and to whom they pointed the finger as the ... of their tribe, put his armies in hostile array against the imperial authority. ... conflict to which these indications of hostility led took place exactly on ...day the sixth of Mohurrim, of the nine hundred and sixty-third of the ...ra (20th of November, A.D. 1555). It is not surprising that this man ...ld have been elated beyond measure with the contemplation of his power, ... we reflect that he had been triumphant in two most sanguinary battles with ...ost puissant of Indian râjahs; that on this occasion he was at the head of

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H

prince's address, at last desired to know in what way it was possible to gra him without incurring the risk of discovery and certain death. Danial repli that at such a moment, a draught of liquor was to him as much as life itself. "Go," said he, "and bring me the spirit in the barrel of one of my fowli pieces; twice or thrice repeated I shall be satisfied, and thou wilt be safe agai discovery, or even suspicion." Subdued by these intreaties, Mûrshed Kûly did he was desired; filled the piece so ominously named jennauzahr with spirits, an brought it to his master. As the inauspicious name had been given to the pie by himself, it was so ordained by Providence that to drink what was conveyed it and to be laid on his bier was one and the same thing—he drank of the liqu mischief and died: so true is it, that the tongue should be restrained from i dulging in rash expressions.

In fine, what does not always occur in the same person, Danial was almost fond of good eating as he was of drink. But there was one absurd ambitio which seemed to be predominant with him beyond every other—that of po sessing a superior train of elephants; to such a degree that, even among his ow ameirs, if he saw one of surpassing size or quality, he did not scruple to take away, sometimes forgetting the trifling ceremony of paying for it; of whic hereafter. In short, as far as his power extended, he did not permit any one b himself to be master of a prime elephant. I shall lastly observe that Sûltan Dani was extremely fond of Hindûstauny music, and no bad reciter of Hindy poetry.

To return to the enumeration of my father's children, he had by Naun Beiby a daughter whom he named Lâla Begum, and whom he consigned also to the car of his mother, in whose charge she died at the expiration of eighteen months Next, by Beiby Douletshah he had a daughter, on whom he bestowed the nam of Araumbanu Begum. For this latter he entertained the greatest fondness repeatedly recommending her to my protection, and charging me, for his sake, when he should be no more, to regard her with the same indulgent kindness— not without expressing his assurance, that his words would find a permanen place in my remembrance.

Of my father I may further observe, that in youth it would appear that he made good eating one of the greatest pleasures of his life, and considered a powerful appetite as one of its greatest blessings. Nevertheless, so sincere an humble a sense did he entertain of the superintending power of Providence, that with armies so numerous and formidable at command, with a train of war ele phants in number, and treasures in accumulation beyond all precedent, and an extent of empire, might, and grandeur never surpassed, he never for a moment permitted himself to be unmindful of that eternal Being whom he adored; and hence it was that the following couplet was ever on his lips: "Ever, in all places, wit

In other respects Sûltan Mûrâd was of a greenish or fresh complexion, person rather spare, and inclined to tall; in disposition mild, dignified, deli- in council, and brave in action. In conduct so discreet, that my father assigned to him the superintendance of his building department and working establishments.

Subsequently my father had by Meher Semmaa a daughter, on whom he bestowed the name of Meeti Begum; meeti in Hindûstauny signifying sweet. died, however, at eight months old. After this he had a son by Beeby whom who was placed under the care of Râjah Baharmul.

Upon the death of Sûltan Mûrâd my brother Shahzadah Danial was sent to complete the subjugation of the Dekkan. On the arrival at Bûrhampour of my father, who was proceeding to the same destination, Sûltan Danial, accompanied the Khaun Khanan and other distinguished ameirs of every class, with a formidable allotment of the imperial armies, was detached in advance; and it was this period that the fortress of Ahmednuggur was reduced. My father came to Bûrhampour, and having invested Sûltan Danial with the government of Dekkan, returned to Agrah. Danial was not more than thirty years of age he also died at Bûrhampour, in consequence of his intemperate indulgence use of spirituous liquors.

His death was accompanied with circumstances in some respects so remarkable, I cannot withhold myself from recording them in this place.

He was extremely fond of shooting and the amusements of the chase, and had favourite fowling-piece, to which he had given the name of jennauzah (the bier), and on which he had caused to be inlaid a couplet to the following purport:

> In the pleasures of the chase with thee, my soul breathes fresh and clear (tawzah).
> But who receives thy fatal mission, sinks lifeless on the bier (jennauzah).

His excesses in the disgraceful propensity to which I am compelled to refer, having been carried beyond all bounds of moderation, orders were at last issued, under the directions of Khaun Khanan, that he should no longer receive any supply of liquor, and that those who were detected in any attempt to convey such supply, would be punished with death. For some time, deterred by their fears of punishment, none of his attendants ventured to utter even the names of liquors; and several days were permitted to elapse under these circumstances. length, no longer able to endure this abstinence from his habitual indulgence, Danial, with tears and entreaties implored Mûrshed Kuly, one of his corps of fowlers, to procure him even the most trifling quantity of the poisonous liquid, promising him advancement to the summit of his wishes provided he would comply with his request. Mûrshed Kûly, affected by the touching humility of the prince's

a daily expense of four laks of rupees, equivalent to twelve thousand toma of Irâk.* His hunting establishment was of a corresponding magnitu Among other animals he had twelve thousand one-eyed antelopes to serve the chase; and of neilahgas, mountain rams, rhinoceroses, ostriches, and elou derriai,† twelve thousand more.

For my part, I have discharged all the elephants, excepting those effectu trained for war, and a few more which I have retained for purposes of recr tion. In conclusion, of the paraphernalia, the requisites for grandeur accum lated by my father, whether in treasure or splendid furniture of any descripti the invincible Teymûr who subdued the world, and from whom my father w the eighth in descent, did not possess one-tenth part. But my father's fo steps were lofty, probably he was of an ambition to aspire beyond all th went before him. In the qualities of his mind he was indeed nothing a-kin the denizens of this lower world.

When he arrived at the age of twenty, Providence bestowed upon him h first child, who received the name of Fautma Banú Begum, but died at the a of one year. Her mother was Beiby Pungrâi. By Beiby Araumbuksh he ha two sons, one of whom received the name of Hussun, and the other Hûsseyn The latter was given to nurse to Bereijah Begum, the mother of Assuf Khau but lived only eighteen days; the other was consigned to the care of Zey Khaun Koukah, and did not live the tenth day. After these he had by Bei Seleima Begum a daughter whom he named Shahzâdah Khaunum, who wa consigned to the care of his own mother, Mereiam Makauny (who has her plac with Mary). Among all my sisters, in integrity, truth, and zeal for my welfare she is without her equal; but her time is principally devoted to the worship of her Creator.

Next was born to him by Beiby Kheira a son, to whom they gave the nam of Pahry. When he became of age, being employed by my father to conduct the operations in the Dekkan, he had reduced the fortresses of Gawil,‡ Parnalah and other places of strength, and otherwise made successful progress towards the entire subjugation of the countries south of the Nerbudda. This prince died at Khaunpour in that territory at the early age of thirty. The name bestowed upon him by my father was Sûltan Mûrâd, but having been born among the hills of Futtahpour, and a hill in Hindûstauny being called pahr, my father in familiar language usually addressed him by the name of Pahry, or mountain born.

* This would be about thirty-four rupees a day for every first-class elephant.

† I know not what animal this could have been, unless it was the hippopotamus; perhaps it was the sea-cow of, which they suspended the tails round their horses' necks.

‡ Gawailgur, or Gur Gaweil. This place was captured in 1803 by Sir Arthur Wellesley.

tion on every subject. He associated, indeed, with the learned among the ...s of every description; and although he might not have derived any ...iar advantage from the attainment, he had acquired such a knowledge ... elegance of composition, both in prose and verse, that a person not ...nted with the circumstances of his elevated character and station, might set him down as profoundly learned in every branch of science.

...all here consign to perpetual remembrance, that in person my father was ...stature, of a ruddy, or wheaten, or nut-brown complexion; his eyes and ...ows dark, the latter running across into each other. Handsome in his ...r, he had the strength of a lion, which was indicated by the extraordinary ...h of his chest, and the length of his arms. In the whole, at all events, ...terior was most captivating. A black mole which he had on his nose, ...clared by those skilled in the science of physiognomy to prognosticate an ...rdinary career of good fortune: neither could he, indeed, be considered ...nfortunate, who sounded the great drum of sovereign power for a period ...y-five years, and that over a part of Hindûstaun two years' journey in ...s, without a rival and without an opponent.

... furnish some estimate of the prodigious amount to which his treasures ...cumulated, I should state, that having one day given orders to Kilidge ... to bring him an account of the gold alone in the imperial depositories, ...fficer took measures as far as possible to ascertain what was to be found in ...easury at Agrah. He obtained from different tradesmen in the city four ...red pairs of scales, which for a period of five months he kept at work, both ...nd night, in weighing the coin and precious metals. At the end of that ... my father sent to inquire how many maunns of gold had been brought ...ount. The reply was, that although for the whole of the five months a ...nd men, with four hundred pair of scales, had been night and day ...ingly employed in weighing the contents of one only of the treasuries, ...had not yet completed that part of their work. On which my father ...ched to desire that matters might be left as they stood; to return the ... to their places, to secure them under lock and seal, and repair to the ...ce. This, it is to be observed, was the treasury of one cityonly.*

...establishment of elephants which he had formed never was and never ...e equalled by any earthly sovereign, for it comes not within the limits of ...ary calculation that any one will be able to bring together *twelve thousand* ...ts of the largest class (mungloussy), with no less than twenty thousand ...ther class (females), to provide forage and provender for them, incurring a daily

* ...may probably be one among many exaggerations; but in gold and jewels this was doubtless ... monarch the world ever saw.

tinued to him his title, with the appointment of diwan, or steward of my hou hold (perhaps the director of buildings). Whatever in other respects might h been the ground of his claims, his singular simplicity of mind is a pledge of love of truth, and he is moreover sufficiently ready with his pen. Sheikh Bayezz another grandson of Sheikh Seleim of Adjmeir, I raised from the rank of thousand to that of three thousand horse. The first from whom I drew was the mother of Sheikh Bayezzid; and with regard to himself, such is distinguished prudence, that place him in whatever employment you may, his hands it cannot fail to prosper.

In conversation one evening with certain Pundits, the appellation by wh their divines and learned men are distinguished by the Hindûs, I took occas to demand, supposing it to be their intention, in the images which were objects of their worship, in some sense or other to represent the nature or esse of the Deity, what could be a greater absurdity, or more revolting to understanding, since we all knew that the Almighty is eternally exempt fro change or decay, has neither length nor breadth, and must therefore be tota invisible; how then could it be possible to bring him in any shape under imperfect scope of human vision? "If, on the other hand," continued "your idea is the descent or manifestation of the light divine in such bodi we already know that the power of the divinity pervades all existence; this w announced to the legislator of Israel from the midst of the burning bush! again, it be your design to delineate by affinity (*qu.*) any of the attributes of th Supreme Being, we must confess that here below there cannot in reality ex any affinity, otherwise we might have expected some such manifestation by th hands of those whom, in any religion, we believe to have possessed the facu of working miracles, and who surpassed all other men in knowledge, in pow and every human perfection. But if you consider these figures as the immedia objects of adoration, and as the source from which you may derive support an assistance in these designs, this is a most fearful conclusion, since adorati is due to God alone, supreme in glory, who has neither equal nor associat After a variety of arguments for and against, the most intelligent of the Pundits seemed convinced of the weakness of their cause, finally confess once for all, that without the intervention of these images they found it impo sible to settle their minds to a steady contemplation of the perfections of th Supreme Being. To which, in reply, I could only observe, in what manner, aft all, was it that these images of theirs could contribute to the attainment of su an object.*

With these pundits my father Akbar was in the constant habit of familiar co versati

* I have endeavoured to give to this curious passage the corresponding ideas in English.

and engaging qualifications. But, however repugnant, there cannot in cases be any alternative: for should we omit to discharge ourselves of irksome duty, every aggrieved person would seize his opportunity of and place to avenge himself in his adversary's blood. To bring, therefore, prompt punishment the man who violates the laws of his country, is an alternative with which no person intrusted with the reins of power is authorized to use.

[Here follow fourteen couplets, concluding with the remark, that the renown of Solomon, however exalted, is wholly derived from his inflexible love of justice.]

Informed of the execution of his son, but aware that there could be no evasion of the ordinances of God, Khaun-e-Auzem, after indulging in his grief some days, finally suffered the melancholy occurrence to be banished from mind. Of this distinguished Ameir I shall here observe, that he was an exquisite penman in the Nestaalik character, a very perfect reciter of the verses of the Korân, and next to Nekkeib Khaun above-mentioned, I may venture to pronounce that he was unrivalled in the recollection of past events.

Like Khaun-e-Auzem, Assuf Khaun was also an excellent reciter of the ..., an eloquent speaker, and without his equal in conviviality of disposition. In the whole court of my father there was not an Ameir more deservedly distinguished, and I myself continue to cherish for him the highest respect, of which I have given some proof in assigning to him the title of uncle. In truth, there are belonging to him such various accomplishments, both personal and intellectual, as can seldom fall to the lot of man. But there is one blemish clinging to his character sufficient to obliterate all his virtues: his hand is closed against the graces of liberality, than which there cannot be a deeper stain on the human character, more particularly in that of a man of his exalted rank; for the canker of avarice corrodes both here and hereafter. "I have exerted all the powers of reflection to decide, but there is no quality of the mind more graceful than liberality." Another fault by which he has exposed himself to censure, he was never known to pray. For this unpardonable defect he endeavours to apologize, by saying that he is prevented by the many temptations by which he is perpetually assailed. Neither has he ever been reclaimed, although with my father's permission he has made the voyage to Mekkah, and there performed the ... ceremonies of the pilgrimage with every appearance of zeal and devotion; nevertheless, on rejoining my father in Hindûstaun, this neglect of his religious duties remained unabated.

I promoted Moezz-ul-moulk from the order of five hundred to that of one thousand. Originally he bore the name of Moezz-ud-Hûsseyne, and in my father's service had the superintendence of the goldsmith's department. I continued

I bestowed upon Seyed Ally Assuf the titles of Seyf Khaun. He is of Seyeds of Bâurah, and son of Seyed Mahmoud, who was one among the gr Ameirs of my father's court, and a Seyed of the genuine stock. The so worthy of his race, and no babbler. Than this, I do not know in man a be quality, and I despise the individual who is either rash in act, or hasty in course. In the whole course of his life I do not think that Seyf Khaun has e been guilty of an unworthy action. He is also a stranger to inebriating dr or spirits, and this very year I design to place him among the most exalted nobles.

Next I promoted Feridoun, the son of Mahommed Kûly Khaun, from order of one thousand to that of two thousand horse. Feridoun is the descend of an illustrious race, and himself not deficient either in daring or genero His courage is such, indeed, that he is known to have been more than o engaged in conflict with a lion. This most formidable of wild beasts, with hand wrapped in felt, and the other armed with a dagger, he contrived overcome, by thrusting one hand into his jaws and stabbing him with the oth until he killed him. To a Rajah Gahnum Pûll, the zemindaur of a purgun or district of the same name, with whom and his followers he was engaged hostilities, he also opposed himself singly, and though wounded in several pa of his body, succeeded in keeping him in check until finally relieved.

I am now about to relate an occurrence, which from the struggle betwe private friendship and the sense of public duty, occasioned considerable p to my mind. Mirza Nour, the son of Khaun-e-Auzem, was brought before on a charge of homicide. This young man had possessed an extraordin share in my father's friendship, was as much beloved by him as if he had be his own child, and who made considerable sacrifices to gratify and indulge hi In these circumstances, I directed that he should be taken, together with h accusers, immediately before the Kauzy and Meir-e-Auddel (or minister justice), who received my injunctions, according to what might be proved evidence, to fulfil with regard to him the dictates of the law. In due time report was laid before me from these officers of justice, declaring that Mirz Nour, the son of Khaun-e-Auzem, had been found guilty of the wilful murde of a man, and that, according to the law of Mahommed, "blood alone was th compensation for blood." Notwithstanding my extreme regard for the son, the respect which I bore for the father, I found it impossible to act in contra vention to the ordinances of God, and I therefore, with whatever reluctan consigned him to the hands of the executioner.

For a month afterwards, however, I endured for his death the most consum grief, deeply regretting the loss of one so young, and possessed of so ma eleg

to my accession, I had received an arrezdasht (or memorial) from the kh, stating that he had recently had it revealed to him in a dream, that, to a al certainty, the Most High would make me, in spite of all opposition, sove- of Hindûstaun: on the occurrence of which event he should venture to that for his sake, who had thus early predicted my exaltation, I would e the offences of the son of Khaujah Yaheya; and it was for this reason that h pardoned and promoted the man.

Taush Khaun Beg, also a native of the province of Kabûl, who had re- d from my father the title of Taush Khaun, leaving to him the same title, I rred the rank of two thousand, presenting him at the same time with a ly caparisoned charger, jeigha and kreisse, both set with precious stones. This person is one of the oldest retainers of our house, having eminently dis- ished himself as a soldier in the time of my grandfather Homayûn, and ed his rank of ameir under my uncle Mahommed Hakkeim Mirza. He is far advanced in years, and, though his beard has lost its jetty blackness, etains his pleasing cast of features.

Another native of Kabûl whom I selected for promotion was Behajah Beg m, whom I raised from the order of fifteen hundred to that of three thou- d. This chief is a person of the greatest practical ability, and was reckoned ngt the most respectable of the ameirs in the train of Mohammed Hakkeim e mentioned. He is a man of distinguished courage, and though an ancient ier, is a sincere Mussulman, rigidly strict in the observance of his religious es. I shall here add, that within a very few days I have given preferment to rly one hundred of the same tribe, with all the usual accompaniments.

Mirza Abul Kaussem, an ameir of one thousand, I advanced to the order of en hundred. He also is one of my father's oldest retainers, a good soldier, d useful servant in other respects. It is remarkable, that of about thirty to whom he is the father, not one has turned to any good. It is, indeed, entable to observe, that the father of many sons but seldom derives any ad- ntage from them in proportion to their number.

I conferred upon Sheikh Ally, the grandson of Sheikh Seleim of Adjmeir, the e of khaun, with the rank of an ameir of two thousand, presenting him at the e time with the sum of fifty thousand rupees, to celebrate the anniversary of s venerated relative. Sheikh Ally was bred up from infancy in the same apart- nts with myself, and is only one year my junior. He is a most intrepid sol- r, and among the whole tribe has not now his equal. Strictly abstinent from briating drugs, or liquor of any kind, I entertain the highest expectations m his merit. In very truth it might be said, that I consider him as one of my n children.

I bestowed

thousand men, the which I dispatched to his support, the Ameer-ul-Oomra again bravely charged his assailants, and put a considerable number of the Rajpouts to the sword.

At such a moment, Sheikh Fereid, with ten thousand horse in quilted mail and five thousand camel-mounted musqueteers, armed and in complete armour, arrived to the support of the minister, and gave instant check to the fury of the Rajpouts. While the conflict thus continued with protracted violence, a single Rajpout approached sword in hand to make an attack upon Sheikh Fereid, who stood in advance under one of the standards. Seizing a javelin from one of his attendants, the sheikh passed it with such irresistible force through the breast of the Rajpout, that the point appeared clean at his back, which of course sent the miscreant on his way to hell. The superior prowess of the imperial troops was now apparent, and great numbers of the Rajpouts were put to the sword; those who escaped the slaughter betook themselves to flight in the utmost confusion. Of these, however, about four thousand were made prisoners, all of whom, as an example to other wretches who might be disposed to follow in their steps, were by my command, trampled to death by elephants. At the same time, as a living example, to deter the turbulent and factious from engaging in such tortuous and disloyal designs, I directed the ringleader, whose name was Bukhta Ram, to be closely confined in the fortress of Gualiar.

It was on this occasion that Bahauder Khaun, an Ouzbek chief, ventured to make the remark, that if such an instance of rebellion had occurred under the authority of one of the sovereigns of his country, the whole tribe in all its branches would have been cut off from the face of the earth. To this I replied, that I could not forget, that from my father, in whose armies they served, these Rajpouts had received unbounded indulgence, and enjoyed distinction far beyond their equals of other tribes; and, in consequence of the preference thus shewn them, it might have been that they were led to conceive themselves of a superior class. Neither could I consider it consistent with substantial justice, for the offence of a few misguided individuals, to extirpate a whole tribe; since, for every purpose of example, it was quite sufficient to punish the actual guilty.

I shall now return to the more grateful subject of recording the rewards and advancements bestowed upon the more faithful adherents of my government. I promoted Kauzy Abdullah the Kabúlite from the order of five hundred to that of five thousand; and on Khanjah Zakareia, the son of Khaujah Mahommed Yaheya, although in disgrace, I conferred the rank of five hundred. This I was induced to do on the recommendation of the venerated Sheikh Hûsseyne Ja distinguished in our age for the unblemished purity of his life. Six months

who had received the title of Dillawer Khaun, and Hausham Monguly, who received that of Shahnowauz Khaun, both armed themselves, and putting ir followers in order, prepared to rescue this Eiltcha Ram from the hands of ommed Amein, and carry him off to the enemy.

ith these perplexing circumstances in mind, I secretly placed in readiness, ddition to those immediately about my person, a body of four thousand horse d two thousand touptchies, or matchlockmen, with orders, in case of any empt against my personal security, to throw themselves upon the assailants, of atever cast, and use their utmost efforts to prevent the rescue of Eiltcha Ram. hommed Amein was directed to keep fast his prisoner to the last extremity. the interim Nowauzesh Khaun hastily entered, and announced to the Ameir-Oomra that the rescue of Eiltcha had been actually effected, and that Ma-mmed Amein had been compelled to take post near the jeil, or lake, among sebzah (green fields, or perhaps, grassy reeds) surrounding the lake. This port was communicated to me by the Ameir-ul-Oomra in a whisper. The ult was now approaching with accumulated violence towards the foot of royal tower of the castle of Agrah, and I intimated to the minister, that ngs appeared to have reached that crisis, beyond which it would be a crime to longer idle. "Go then," said I, "with the soldiers under your orders, and nder to these miscreants the reward of their treason." The Ameir-ul-Oomra ordingly led out his troops, and soon engaged with the insurgents. I next dressed myself to Sheikh Fereid the Bukhshy, observing to him, that I had not doubt the insurgents would be immediately joined by all the Rajpouts in the ghbourhood, which would materially add to our danger; I therefore charged m to call out his followers, and hasten without delay to the support of the meir-ul-Oomra.

On the departure of Sheikh Fereid, the noise and tumult of the conflict became lder and louder, and I ascended to the upper works of the royal tower, where ive audience to the people, and I thence observed the combatants hotly en-ged; not less than twenty thousand of the Rajpout cavalry having joined the urgents, and all of them now pressing furiously, sword and dagger in hand, on the troops under the Ameir-ul-Oomra; while the latter, with all the skill of hich he was master, was thus making head against the enemy. Kuttoub Khaun, e of the bravest and most useful of his retainers, together with many other gal-nt men, fell before my eyes by the swords of the insurgents, and a far greater mber wounded. Dillawer Khaun,* who with others had charged the assailants the assistance of Kuttoub Khaun, was dragged from his horse and sabred, all ho accompanied him sharing the same fate. Joined by a reinforcement of three thousand

* There were two of these we must suppose.

who when his kinsman Pahar Sing, the son of Rajah Maun Sing, was raised to the order of two thousand at Allahabad, succeeded, with heartless officiousness in persuading that unfortunate person to bring disgrace upon himself; and he was beginning to give effect to his malignant proceedings when he received the just compensation of his evil deeds.

Eiltcha Ram, another of the tribe, becoming alarmed at the execution of these men, was beginning also to exhibit some suspicious movements, with the same heartless indifference to consequences, when I consigned him to the custody of Mahommed Amein, the kroury (or collector) of Bengal, with injunctions to watch over him with the strictest vigilance. The father of Mahommed Amein, by the way, was one of the Seyeds Termed. He was instructed at the same time, that on his arrival in Bengal he was to place this man under the care of Rajah Maun Sing. With the greatest simplicity, after securing his hands and feet, this officer puts his prisoner into a common hackery, or covered bullock carriage, and thinking all sufficiently secure, proceeded with him, without any further precautions, on the way to Bengal. Between Serràctaal and Ghazipour, about midnight one evening, when all were asleep, the prisoner watches his opportunity, and effects his escape, with the notorious design of joining the Rana. However, as this could not be accomplished without some noise, Mahommed Amein became apprised of the circumstance, and instantly proceeded in pursuit of the fugitive. The latter coming by accident to a part of the Jumnah where there was no ferry-boat, boldly plunges into the river, and gains the opposite bank in safety. But here his career terminates: he is laid hold of by some of the country people, and bound with ropes until the arrival of Mahommed Amein, to whom he is once more safely delivered up.

Mahommed Amein, upon this, transmits a despatch to my presence, announcing that he was again master of the person of his prisoner, whose design had been, as he alleged, to join the Rana, and requesting my further orders. I sent to acquaint him in reply, that if there were among the Hindûs of the Rajpout tribes any individuals willing to be his securities, I was disposed to pardon and give him a jaguir. Finding, however, probably from the notorious turbulence of his disposition, that no one would venture to become security for him, I consulted with the Ameir-ul-Oomra as to what, under such circumstances, ought to be done; for, if suffered to escape, such confusion might arise as it would be difficult to control, considering that the Rajpouts were in the country more numerous than cats and dogs. The Ameir-ul-Oomra stated, that to him there occurred only two alternatives, either to place him in the custody of some confidential individual, who would engage for his safe keeping, or at once to confine him in the fortress of Gualiar. Things came to this crisis, when Ibrauhim Gar-

gar-

Some time previous to my accession, I had conferred upon Sheikh Hussun ...ir the title of Mokurreb Khaun; and this person it was that I selected to proceed into the Dekkan to the camp of the Khaun Khanan, in order to bring ... the children of my deceased brother Danial; for which purpose he received ... me the best instructions I could devise, to be communicated to that minister. The commission thus entrusted to him, he finally executed with eminent ability, bringing away my brother's family and effects to a prodigious amount: ... jewels alone being estimated at the value of nearly five krour of five methkaly ashrefies,* with two krour of the same currency in treasure.† He had at the same time two hundred elephants of the largest size, and nearly two thousand Persian horses in his stables. In justice I cannot omit to add, that as a servant the merit of Mokurreb Khaun is of the very highest order, and few are the sovereigns who possess his equal. In fine, I raised him to the dignity of an ameir of five thousand horse, with the insignia of the great drum and standard, presenting him, at the same time, with a scimitar (shemsheir) set with diamonds, a charger with enriched caparison, a jewelled aigrette, a sumptuous honorary dress, and a trained elephant. It was on this occasion also that I conferred upon him the government of Gujerat.

Another whom I thought fit to elevate to the order of two thousand horse was Nekkeib Khaun, who bore originally the name of Ennayet-ul-Remly. He received his title of Nekkeib Khaun from my father, and was of the Seyeds of Kazvein. In other respects he was so extensively gifted in the knowledge of history, that however remote the points on which information was required, he gave it with as much facility as if consulted on the very spot, so unbounded were his powers of memory. He has completed seven volumes on historical subjects, and it must be confessed that in this branch of literature he is without rival, and it might be justly said that of all creation there is no earthly monarch who possesses one like him. I shall lastly observe, that in early youth I studied for a short time under his tuition.‡

On the seventh day of the month of Shabaun (year not mentioned) Ramjee and Botcharam, and Seyam, the sons of Bugwandas, who was the uncle of Rajah Maun Sing, received the rewards of their perfidious deeds, having their heads crushed under the feet of my elephants, and being thus despatched to the hell prepared for them. Ramjee in particular was an idle and mischievous babbler, who

* Forty-five krour of rupees, or about £45,000,000 sterling!

† About £1?,000,000 sterling, at nine rupees to the ashrefy. All these are sums so prodigious as to startle the most credulous.

‡ This is probably the same Nekkeib Khaun that translated the ancient Indian poem of the Mahabharat from Shanscrit into Persian, for he is also stated to have been a native of Kazvein.

the misfortune of this prince, through the seduction of Meir Allâi-ud-deen Badakhshanian, to incur the displeasure of my father, in consequence of w he had been sent towards Kabûl in custody of Khaujah Abdullah the Kab There happened at this period to be imprisoned in that city about four hun individuals, taken in arms against their sovereign, and orders were despatc by the same opportunity, after proper admonition, and an oath never mo violate their allegiance, to set them at large, and conduct them to the metrop of the empire. Without consulting Khaujah Abdullah, who was proceeding he well knew, to the same destination, this Allâi-ud-deen contrived to pers the feudatories of the station that the instructions were to furnish these priso with arms and horses, and even with khelaats, and that he was employed to c duct them to the capital.

Unsuspicious of any perfidious design, the governor of Kabûl yielded to t insidious representations, and issued his warrant for the supply of the four h dred prisoners with arms and every necessary military equipment, as wel honorary dresses. On which these traitors, uniting themselves with Meir A ud-deen, before the governor could be made aware of their intentions, fell u the city, and commenced an indiscriminate plunder of the bankers' shops bazars, and with all they could lay hands on hastily withdrew through the gates, and made the best of their way towards Badakhshaun. Nevertheless years afterwards, although, after being admitted into the order of two thous he could thus absurdly as well as basely, and without the slightest grievanc complain of, violate his allegiance, when, after enduring every species of pr tion and wretchedness, he conveyed himself to my presence, and I demande him with what face he could venture to appear before me after such an ar perfidy and ingratitude towards my father, he replied in such terms of hum tion and contrition, that, notwithstanding such experience of his falsehoo could not, in compassion to his misfortunes, withhold myself from restoring Allâi-ud-deen to the appointments which he held under my father, and adva ing him, moreover, from the order of two thousand to that of two thousand hundred. In this I was supported by the opinion of my Ameir-ul-Oomra, referring to this man's distinguished courage as a soldier, urged the danger inexpediency of discarding him for ever for a single offence, taking into consid tion that for such offence he had already been the victim of so much suffering

I may here observe, that at the moment I am writing, there are enrolled my service not less than one hundred and fifty thousand Ouzbek cavalry, fr the rank or order of one hundred downwards to the private horseman. Ne theless I am constrained to remark, that however brave in battle, they are v easily prevailed upon to desert their employers.

So

sons in archery under his tuition. Under these considerations I now made an Ameir of five thousand, with the insignia of the drum and standard.

A certain Roup Khawauss, after seducing from their duty one hundred and ...ty of my father's slaves (qu. guards) had absconded; but was again taken at ...discomfiture of Himmetpour: He was a man of the greatest courage, but an ...orrigible drunkard. Add to this, he had never in the whole course of his life, ...e kept the fast of Ramzán nor uttered a prayer. For all this, I pardoned his ...t and spared his life.

Shahbauz Khaun again, although a fellow taken from the common bazar, an ...cure market-man, nevertheless possessed the capacity of being extensively ...ful. Foul-mouthed and scurrilous as he was, even in the presence of my ...er, he received from him the first dignity of a grandee of five thousand. He ...erstood, however, the Turkish language, and was well acquainted with the ...ms of military discipline. Nevertheless, when front to front with the enemy, ...terrors of the conflict were more than he could stand: I therefore removed ...from the order of five thousand, and appointed him chief huntsman, with the ...k of two hundred only.

Furthermore, to the different Munsebdaurs or functionaries, from the rank of ...hundred downwards to the ohedy, or private horseman, such as are furnished ...four horses each, I allotted to every one an augmentation of stipend accord...g to circumstances of rank and merit. I also directed that thirty thousand of ...ohedies should be always in attendance on the imperial stirrup, for the pur...se of furnishing the nightly guards, in conformity with the established regula...ns of my court.

Mirza Shah Rokh, prince of Badakhshaun, the grandson of Mirza Sûliman, and ...own relative, had attained under my father's authority to the rank of a com...nder of five thousand horse, and him I now advanced to the dignity of a ...dee of the order of seven thousand, although somewhat at variance with the ...e which dictated, that no Turk should rise beyond the rank of five thousand. ...h Rokh was a man of great simplicity of mind, highly esteemed by my father, ...o permitted to him, in common with his own sons, the indulgence of being ...ed in his presence. So much, indeed, did he partake in the simplicity natural ...the Tartar race, that although he had lived in India for a period of twenty ...rs, he could never accomplish the enunciation of one word in Hindûstauny. ...the whole world, perhaps, there does not exist a race of men more notorious ...their disregard of truth than the natives of Badakhshaun, although by no ...ns deficient in intellect; but no one would have taken Shah Rokh for a ...akhshy, to whom he did not bear the slightest resemblance.

Notwithstanding the indulgence in which he had so largely partaken, it was the

Pahar Khaun was a dignitary of two thousand, and the uncle of Râjah Maun Sing. He was a man inclined to habits of retirement, although by no means deficient in military talent and the art of war. One of his sisters was in my father's harram, but no favourite with destiny, although possessed of uncommon beauty. The proverb says: "If there be any auspicious destiny it is for the ill-favoured, for from all I can observe in this workshop of creation, scarcely anything appears in its proper place. The poor in spirit are absorbed in the rigours of abstinence, while those who love the world find their fortune ever on the advance."

Doulet Khaun, again, was the chief of the eunuchs of my father's seraglio, and obtained in this employment the title of Nazzir-ud-Doulah (regulator of the state). Of this man I will venture to say, that in the receipt of bribes, and his disregard of every principle of duty, there was not his second in the empire. In specie alone, he left at his death no less a sum than ten krour of ashrefies of five methkals,* exclusive of jewels, and gold and silver plate, china-ware, and utensils of brass and copper, to the value of three krour more; the whole of which became an accession to my father's treasury.

Zuffer Khaun is the son of Zeyne Khaun Koukah, on whom my father had bestowed a multiplicity of favours, and whom, as well as Khaun-e-Azzem, he regarded as a son, although the latter did rank far higher in his esteem than either. Zuffer Khaun is however a man of excellent understanding, and I have ever entertained from his zeal and ability the very highest expectations. He inherits indeed his father's acuteness. There are few that can stand a competition with him in rapidity of perception, which is such, that in a flight of pigeons he will at a single glance state their number, without making one either more or less. With all this he possesses considerable skill in the music of the Hindûs; and he is an incomparable soldier.

Among other objects which I accomplished about this period was the suppression of a tribe of robbers called Fehndiah, who had long infested the roads about Agrah, and whom getting into my power, I caused to be trampled to death by elephants.

Râi Durgah, a dignitary of seven hundred at my accession, and a man of the highest courage, signalized in many a conflict, although now far stricken in years, I advanced to the order of one thousand, bestowing upon him, at the same time, the donation of a lak of rupees. I also raised Mokheim Khaun, the son of Shûjayet Khaun, from the order of seven hundred to that of one thousand horse. The father, Shûjayet Khaun, was one of my father's most distinguished Ameirs; and I well remember receiving my father's orders, while yet a youth, to take my lessons

* Ninety krour of rupees, or ninety millions sterling!—utterly incredible.

ther he had acquired, he so wrought upon the mind of his master, as to instil him the belief that the seal and asylum of prophecy, to whom the devotion a thousand lives such as mine would be a sacrifice too inadequate to speak of, no more to be thought of than as an Arab of singular eloquence, and that sacred inspirations recorded in the Korân were nothing else but fabrications ented by the ever-blessed Mahommed. Actuated by these reasons it was *that mployed the man who killed* Abûl Fazzel and brought his head to me, and for is it was that I incurred my father's deep displeasure.* Hence also it was that solemnly appealed to the Prophet's sacred name, and ventured to proclaim that, ith his assistance, I should still make my way good to the throne of Hindûstaun. am compelled to add, that under the influence of his displeasure on this occasion, y father gave to my son Khossrou, over me, every advantage of rank and vour, explicitly declaring that after him *Khossrou should be king*. Sheikh Saadi as long since pronounced, "God will dispose of him whom he has destined to ke away, though the atheist may himself pretend to shroud the body." In the d, the Almighty brought his purposes to a consummation. After the death of bûl Fazzel, however, my father became impressed with other notions, and turning again a little into the right way, shewed himself once more an rthodox believer.

To the dignity of a commander of two thousand I also raised Zauhed Khaun, he son of Saadek Mahommed Khaun, the vezzeir of Kara Khaun the Tûrkmaun. Under the authority of my father this person had discharged the duties of general f artillery, and at the seige of Asseire, had eminently distinguished himself by his activity and skill, which were indeed the grounds for his present advancement. I presented him at the same time with bûzûrg audem,† and a donation of thirty thousand rupees.

I should mention, in passing, that Râi Mûnnouher, of the Hindû tribe of Keichwa, was a person on whom, in early youth, my father had bestowed numerous marks of kindness, and with whom he was accustomed to converse in Persian. He is indeed a man possessed of extensive general knowledge, and still established in the service of the monarchy. He has on some occasions given proofs of a turn for the poetry of Arabia of no mean merit. One stanza of his contains the following sentiment: "Wouldst thou learn the object of the rich pelisse? it is this—no one shall put out his feet in the presence of the lion." In this tribe, however, we must not look for brilliancy of imagination.

Pahar

F

* It was always suspected that Jahangueir was deeply implicated in the murder of the elegant historian of his father's reign; but here is the cold-blooded acknowledgment at full length!

† According to some authorities *audem* signifies a ruby, in which case the article presented would be a large ruby.

and Agrah being transferred to others. Thus, should it please God to give m complete relief from my anxieties on this head, I might be at liberty this sa year to bend my course into the Dekkan; or should the Râna, misled by his e destiny, still continue refractory, the same force assembled under my immedia authority, might be promptly employed to destroy him root and branch.

Among the Ameirs whom I detached under the orders of Parveiz the m distinguished was Assof Khaun, who had been the vezzeir of my father, a whom I now raised to the order of five thousand, with the insignia of the standa and great drum, or naggarah. He received at the same time a scimitar enrich with diamonds, a war elephant, and a charger with enriched caparisons. I d volved to him on this occasion the appointment of atabek, or governor, to m son. Assof Khaun bore originally the name of Jauffer Beg, and was a native Kazvein, the son of Baddeia-uz-zemman, who was the son of Aga Bellaul, w was enrolled among the vezzeirs of the departed Shah Tahmasp (of Persia). T title of Assof Khaun was conferred upon him by my father, to whom he was fi of all Meir Bukhshy; but from his extraordinary talents and experience, became soon advanced to the dignity of vezzeir, an office which for two ye he held with unlimited powers. Pre-eminent in intellectual endowments a acuteness of sagacity, I raised him from the class of vezzeirs to that of am On the occasion I issued strict injunctions to all the functionaries, of whats class or degree, to abide without demur or deviation by his decisions, which was assured would ever be governed by the purest principles of zeal a integrity.

At the same time I sent to Shahzadah Parveiz a chaplet of pearl of the va of five laks of rupees, with instructions to build in the Râna's territory a c equal to Banaras, to which he was to give the name of *Parvizabád*. I appoin Abdurrezzak Maammoury (the architect), with the rank of one thousand, to office of Bukhshy to the Shahzadah, permitting Mokhtaur Beg, the uncle Assof Khaun, who held the rank of commander of eight hundred horse, accompany the prince my son. To Sheikh Rokn-ud-dein the Afghan, I given the title of Sheir Khaun, previous to my accession to the throne; an here only desire to remark that he was a man of undoubted courage, but happ ing to engage in the service of some of the Kashmirian chiefs, he became stro addicted to habits of drinking, although, nevertheless, a man of singular and soundest discretion.

I shall here record the elevation by me to the dignity of a commander of t thousand horse, of Sheikh Abdurrahman, the son of Abûl Fazzel, although father was well known to me as a man of profligate principles. For towards close of my father's reign, availing himself of the influence which by some m

Begum for his bride, giving him the appellation of son, which I caused to serted in the patent for his appointment. In his profession of a soldier most distinguished for courage and intrepidity, and I have it in mind to myself of every opportunity to advance him in rank and dignity.

a gratuity of three thousand rupees I committed to Rana Sing the super-ance of my father's tomb, which is three kôsse to the westward of the city rah;* my Ameirs, of whatever degree, being enjoined on coming to court, f all to offer homage on that consecrated spot, after which only they be permitted to do the same in my presence.

receiving a hint one day from the Ameir-ul-Oomra, which concurred exactly with the suggestions of my own mind, I established as a rule, that was to be entrusted with the transaction of any concern of my govern- until his qualifications were first tried by the touchstone of experience, in to form something like an estimate how far in his hands it was likely to be t to a favourable issue. A matter of importance can, indeed, never be ed to succeed in the hands of a blockhead; and to engage a man of in the transaction of a trifle, would be to let fly a hawk against a mosquito. ut some considerations of this nature the business of any state must soon to confusion; and the welfare and regularity of every government must greatly depend upon the character of those who are retained about the of the sovereign. [Here follow four couplets so perversely transcribed as rcely legible].

the period at which I am writing, information reached me that Samarkand, under the authority of Bauky Khaun the Ouzbek, had devolved to a chief name of Wally Khâun, and as it was the outset of his power, I conceived ible that he might have placed himself in a position of hostility towards me. case I had at first determined to send my son Parveiz to oppose him, with sign at a future period for once at least to proceed, God willing, in person Ma-wer-un-neher (Transoxiana), that is after I should have accomplished ns for invading the Dekkan, or south of India. For I had had it long in plation to advance the standard of victory into the provinces in that r, and having there brought my designs to a successful issue, then to con- my triumphant legions towards Samarkand. This inclination I derived my father, who had always cherished a longing for the inheritance of his rs; but aware of the impolicy of leaving India unfurnished with troops discretion of any son, I resolved to employ Parveiz once more against the of Oudipour, assigning that country in jaguir to him; those of Múltan and

* Sikandera. See a description of this splended edifice in A.D. 1825, in the journal of the d and excellent Bishop Heber.

Zemaunah Beg, the son of Ghour Beg the Kabûlite, had been in my service from childhood, and previous to my accession had received from me the rank of five hundred; I now bestowed upon him the title of Mohaubet Khaun, with the rank of fifteen hundred, and the appointment of Vezzeir of the Shagird Beishah, provost of the apprentices, perhaps director of the manufactures. I also gave to Zeya-ud-dein the Kazvinian the rank of one thousand.

For distribution among my cavalry and other retainers I directed Bikkendas the keeper of the stables, to bring into my presence two hundred horses every day; for it were a thousand pities to have in my retinue any number of horses either lame or worn down by age or hard labour.

On the 11th day of the month of Shabaun, of the year one thousand and nineteen,* I bestowed the daughter of Mirza Rûstam, the grandson of Behram Mirza, upon my favourite son Parveiz, with a marriage portion of one lak of ashrefies.† At the entertainment given on the occasion, the richest and most splendid dresses were distributed to the Ameirs and others permitted to be present, and nearly one hundred maunns Hindy of frankincense, sandal, musk, ambergris, and other aromatic drugs, were consumed during the ceremony. The consumption in other articles may be estimated from this statement. On the evening on which the bride was brought to the palace, I presented her with a necklace of sixty pearls, for each single pearl of which my father had paid the sum of ten thousand rupees.‡ I also presented them with a ruby of the value of two laks and fifty thousand rupees, equivalent to seven thousand tomauns of Irâk;§ and I finally assigned for her expenses the annual sum of three laks of rupees, and for the establishment of her household one hundred maidens from Surat, who were devoted to her service.

I promoted Mirza Ally Akbar Shâhy to the rank of four thousand, and sent him to command on the frontiers of Kashmeir, giving him at the same time an enaum or premium of one lak of rupees, together with a valuable charger and saddle set with jewels, enriched girdle and dagger, and a jeighah, or aigrette, for the turban.

Bauker Khaun Núdjûm Sâni, who held under my father the humble rank of a command of three hundred only, I advanced by degrees to the dignity of two thousand, and finally invested him with the government of Mûltan, assigning to him the foujdaury, or military command on the river Ally Khan, and over the districts in that quarter. More than this, I destined the sister's child as Nourja-

hans

* 18th of September, A.D. 1610.

† Nine laks of rupees, or £90,000.

‡ Six laks of rupees, equal to £60,000 sterling.

§ About £25,000.

wise to be molested in the duties of their religion, nor exposed to oppression violence in any manner whatever. For when I consider that the Almighty constituted me the shadow of his beneficence on earth, and that his gracious providence is equally extended to all existence, it would but ill accord with the character thus bestowed, to contemplate for an instant the butchery of nearly a whole people; for of the whole population of Hindûstaun, it is notorious that five parts in six are composed of Hindûs,* the adorers of images, and the whole concerns of trade and manufactures, weaving, and other industrious and lucrative pursuits, are entirely under the management of these classes. Were it, therefore, ever so much my desire to convert them to the true faith, it would be impossible, otherwise than through the excision of millions of men. Attached as they thus are to their religion, such as it is, they will be snared in the web of their own inventions: they cannot escape the retribution prepared for them; for the massacre of a whole people can never be any business of mine.

Among other regulations of minor importance, I directed, that when any individual of a respectable class in the service of the state was desirous of visiting the country of his birth, application should be made through Sheikh Fereid, the Meir Bukhshy, when permission would be given without difficulty.

It had been usual to send the patents of jaguir in vermillion. I directed that for the future this should be done in gold.

I conferred upon Vezzeir Khaun the appointment of Diwan, or comptroller of finance in Bengal, with unlimited authority; and I despatched him into that province, for the purpose of investigating the state of the revenue, of which for ten years past no correct account had been received.

Mirza Sûltân, the son of Mirza Shahrokh, prince of Badakhshaun, being the most accomplished of the children of his father, I ever considered as a son of my own, and as such placed him under the care of the Ameer-ul-Oomrah, as the highest in rank in the empire. I referred the claims of Mirza Shemsy, the son of Khaun-e-Azzem, with instructions to investigate the truth, to Bauz Bahauder. To gratify the wishes of his father, I bestowed the rank of a grandee of fifteen hundred on Bhaou Sing, the son of Rajah Maun Sing. He was the only surviving son, although the latter is known to have had by his fifteen hundred wives not less than two and three children each, all of whom died except this one: neither was he possessed of sufficient ability to qualify him to be his father's successor. Nevertheless, in this instance, I was induced to promote him. He was a commander of five hundred in the court of my father.

Zemaunah

* It is curious to remark, that the same proportion appears to exist at this day, since Bishop Heber, in his interesting Journal, observes, that the Mahommedans in India bear to the Hindûs the same proportion as the Protestants to the Roman Catholics in Ireland.

In the next place, I invested the son of Rajah Bikramajit, who bore the title of Râi Râyan, with the important appointment of master of ordnance, or superintendant of my department of artillery; and I directed that, independently of such as were distributed in various parts of my dominions, either in guns or gunners, there should, in this department, always be ready for service sixty thousand camel-mounted guns, each supplied with ten seirs of powder and twenty shot; and twenty thousand other pieces (perhaps of larger calibre) with every requisite equipment. To defray the expense of such an establishment altogether, I set apart fifteen purgunnahs or townships, yielding a revenue of one lak,* or five daunky ashrefies. This equipment was to accompany the imperial camp whithersoever it moved.

The Râi Râyan had for some time held the appointment of Diwan under my father Akbar, and is one of his oldest dependents; he is now far advanced in years, and in proportion possessed of the most extensive experience, not less in the regulations of civil policy than in the management of martial discipline, on which he may be said to be master of the *six* parts complete. Together with his experience, he accumulated under my father treasure to an immense amount in gold; so great, indeed, that even among the Hindûs of his class he has not his equal in wealth, since he is known, at the period in which I am writing, to have at a time, in the hands of certain merchants of his caste in the city, no less than ten krours of ashrefies.† From the superintendence of the elephant department, he is now advanced to the dignity of Vezzeir-ul-Oomra.

I availed myself of an opportunity to promote Seyed Kammaul, the son of Seyed Chaund the Bokhârian, from the command of seven hundred to that of one thousand, and assigning for his jaguir the city of Dehly, the metropolis of the ancient monarchs of Hindûstaun. The father of Seyed Kammaul had been killed at Peishawer, in the war with the Afghans. I further advanced Mirza Khorrem, the son of Kherun-e-Azzem, from the rank of two thousand to that of three thousand horse.

In the practice of being burnt on the funeral pyre of their husbands, as sometimes exhibited among the widows of the Hindûs, I had previously directed that no woman who was the mother of children should be thus made a sacrifice, however willing to die; and I now further ordained, that in no case was the practice to be permitted, when compulsion was in the slightest degree employed, whatever might be the opinions of the people. In other respects they were at

* Nine lacs of rupees, or £90,200, which would be utterly inadequate to the expense of such an establishment.

† Ninety krour of rupees, or £90,000,000! an enormous sum, and beyond all credibility.

ner ages, and the facility with which he quotes from it, he has no compe-
er; and few are diwans, or collections of odes, which he has not pre-
red, and of which he has not transcribed the most beautiful and esteemed.
what is better in the proof than a thousand múferra yakouties,* the recita-
is never made without a countenance beaming with smiles. I can only add,
in affairs of state, the measure which has not the confirmation of his coun-
has little chance, from the imperfection of its arrangements, to remain
on the record.

[Here follow five couplets in praise of the virtues of Ettemaud-ud-Doulah,
ich it would be tedious to insert.]

Ettemaud-ud-Doulah, it is almost superfluous to observe, is the father of my
nsort Nourjahaun Begum and of Assof Khan, whom I have appointed my lieu-
ant-general, with the rank of a commander of *five thousand*. On Nourjahaun,
wever, who is the superior of the four hundred inmates of my harram, I have
nferred the rank of *thirty thousand*. In the whole empire there is scarcely a
y in which this princess has not left some lofty structure, some spacious
rden, as a splendid monument of her taste and munificence. As I had then
intention of marriage, she did not originally come into my family, but was
trothed in the time of my father to Sheer Afkunn; but when that *chief was
lled*,† I sent for the Kauzy, and contracted a regular marriage with her,
igning for her dowry the sum of eighty laks of ashrefies of five methkals,‡
hich sum she requested as indispensable for the purchase of jewels, and I
ranted it without a murmur. I presented her, moreover, with a necklace of
earl, containing forty beads, each of which had cost me separately the sum of
rty thousand rupees.§ At the period in which this is written, I may say that
he whole concern of my household, whether gold or jewels, is under her sole
nd entire management.‖ Of my unreserved confidence, indeed, this princess
s in entire possession, and I may allege without a fallacy, that the whole
rtune of my empire has been consigned to the disposal of this highly endowed
family; the father being my diwan, the son my lieutenant-general, with unli-
mited powers, and the daughter the inseparable companion of all my cares.
In

E 2

* In Richardson's Dictionary reference is made to a cordial or exhilarating prescription thus designated, the ingredients of which consist partly of rubies.

† Notoriously by the contrivance of the worthy monarch himself. The story is something like that of King David and Bathsheba.

‡ Seven krour and twenty laks of rupees, or £7,200,000; one of those enormous sums which startles belief!

§ Sixteen laks of rupees, or about £160,000.

‖ A passage occurs in this place of eight or nine words only which it is difficult to decypher; but it seems to refer to some revenue or advantage derived from the cultivation or sale of opium.

Remember, my son, that this world is no permanent possession. It offers no resting-place, either for reliance or hope. Hast thou not heard how in the chambers of the west, the throne of Solomon was delivered to the winds; that Solomon the blessed of all generations. Thrice happy the man whose life has been passed in the practice of wisdom and justice, whose exertions have been directed to the repose of mankind; he bears away the honours of the course. The wise man's care is devoted to the duties of his religion; but, whatever your pursuits, the world is slipping away. That alone is useful which you can carry to the grave, not that which you have hoarded, and must be left behind you. Let your business be to secure the approbation of the experienced, for though the huntsman has his skill, the old wolf has his cunning. Hast thou contest with thine adversary, oppose him with thy bravest hearts; the tiger alone is competent to a conflict with the lion. Be not afraid of the young soldier, however sharp his sword; beware of the veteran, with his skill in battle often tried. The young man may have strength to wrestle with the lion and the elephant, but where is his experience in the guile of the year-worn fox? Man acquires prudence by seeing the world at large, by feeling alternately the effects of heat and cold. Wouldst thou see thy country flourishing and happy, trust not an affair of importance to the discretion of an upstart. In a matter where there is peril employ none others than soldiers tried in many a battle. The true-bred hound quails not before the tiger; the fox will venture battle where the lion is unseen. Train up thy son in the exertion of the chase, and when the day of battle arrives he will subdue his fears. Even the bravest man when wearied in the lap of indulgence, trembles when the approaches of battle are thrown open to him. Two men there are with whom we should not disgrace the back of the war-horse, and whom the hand of an infant would strike to the earth: one of whom in battle you have seen the back, and whom you should slay with the sword, if perchance he may have escaped that of the enemy. Better is the coward confessed, than the man of the sword who in the course of the conflict turns away his head like a woman.

Of Mirza Gheyauss Beg* how shall I speak in terms of sufficient praise? With the office of high steward of the household he had enjoyed, under my father, the dignity of a grandee of one thousand; and I appointed him, some time after my accession, to the office of diwan or chancellor, in the room of Vezzeir Khaun, with the rank of *seven* thousand, the title of Ettemaud-ud-Doulah, and the insignia of the great drum and standard. In the science of arithmetic he is in this age without a rival; in composition and elegance of style he stands alone; in critical knowledge on every species of the poetry of forme

* Ghaja Aiass, according to Dow.

ledge of the heavenly bodies: and yet his star did not brighten in the esteem of my father. In the end, Sheikh Abdul Nebby gained the advance.

When Hakim Hammaum was appointed on his embassy to Ma-wer-un-neher, (Transoxiana), Meiran Suddur Jahaun (the same referred to as Suddur-ud-deen) was despatched on the mission of condolence on the death of the father of Abdullah Khaun, monarch of the Ouzbeks. On his return after an absence of three years, my father thought fit to place him in a military station; and he was at different periods advanced to the rank or two thousand, and to the important post of suddur, or grand almoner of the empire. I shall finally observe that, under whatever change of circumstance, Meiran Suddur Jahaun has always evinced an unabated zeal in his attachment to my interests; neither is he in any degree deficient in any of the qualities of true courage and virtue: and it might be truly said that his affection towards me was a sentiment implanted in his heart from his very cradle, so meritoriously has he ever discharged the claims of gratitude and trhe loyalty. When yet only prince royal, I had freely engaged my father to advance him to any rank he might require, or to discharge for him any debts he might have contracted, to whatever amount. In fulfilment of such engagement, when placed by Omnipotence on the throne of Hindûstaun, I communicated to him accordingly, that I was prepared to make good my promise in either of the alternatives that he might determine upon. The bukhshies of my court announced to me in reply from the Suddur, that if the command of four thousand were conferred upon him, he would trust to his own resources for the liquidation of his debts.

In compliance with this request, although at variance with the rule which I had prescribed myself, never in the first instance to bestow a higher rank than that of one hundred, I created him a grandee of the class of four thousand. In truth, considering the heart as the genuine seat of true devotion, I esteem the securing to myself of one such faithful heart not inferior in merit to a thousand grand pilgrimages to the sacred cities. Neither would I neglect, so far as compliance rests within my power, to fulfil the just expectations of any man, without distinction of infidel or true believer. This age-stricken ruin of a world has survived hundreds of thousands such as I am; what then can be more desirable than to do something in the fleeting present, of the merit of which we may avail ourselves in an eternal hereafter? Even in this world, the advantages of a benevolent action, of gaining to ourselves the attachment of mankind, are beyond all price; and for my part, I should derive a greater satisfaction from rejoicing the heart of a single individual, than from leaving behind me jewels and gold by the horse-load, to be squandered by a profligate heir.

E Remember,

Darab; and lastly, to Sheir Khojah, of the family of Mirza Ally Beg Akbar-shâ
I transmitted respectively, suitable to their rank, the proper khelauts, or dres
of honour, together with baldrics and swords enriched with precious stones, a
horses with caparisons enriched in the same manner.* The son of Abdurr
man Vaeg, on the contrary, who had left his post without invitation, I order
back in displeasure: for the best proof of zeal is obedience, not verbal p
fession.

Lâla Beg, the Kabûlite, had received from me, previous to my accession, t
title of Bauz Bahauder; but about a month subsequent to my ascending t
throne, coming to render homage to me, I raised him from the rank of one tho
sand to that of two thousand horse, and invested him in the government
Bahár, presenting him at the same time with a donation of one lak of rupe
the feudatories of the provinces, of whatever rank, being publicly apprized th
it was at the discretion of Bauz Bahauder to put any to death who disobey
or resisted his authority. I provided moreover that his jaguir; or fee, shou
be of a higher value than that of any of his subordinates; for I could not b
bear in mind that he belonged to that class of the soldiery most faithfully devot
to my family. His father, I must observe, bore the name of Nizam-e-kaba
and he was Chirâghtchei, or conductor of the flambeaux, or lamplighter to
uncle.

To the only son of the deceased Mahommed Hakaim Mirza of Kabûl, w
previously held the rank of five hundred, I now gave that of one thousand; a
Kanûjen, a Raujpout Mahratta, distinguished beyond his equals for loyal
towards my person, I raised from the rank of eight hundred to that of fifte
hundred horses.

Meiran Suddur-ud-dein, who held the rank of three hundred only, I advanc
to that of a thousand. This person was one of the oldest on the list of m
father's servants, and at the period when Sheikh Abdul Nebby was instructi
me to read the *forty traditions*, was employed in the imperial library. In truth
can allege, that I ever looked upon him as my khalifah, or supreme pontiff. B
in my father's esteem no person held so lofty a place as my preceptor Abd
Nebby; unless it were, indeed, Mekhdoum-ul-Moulk, whose original name w
Sheikh Abdullah, and who in science, good sense, and narrative eloquence, w
without his equal in the age in which he lived. He was a man far advanced
years, and had in early life possessed unbounded influence with Sheir Khaun th
Afghan, and his son Seleim Khaun. He was, moreover, unrivalled in his kno
le

* Most probably these articles were coronation presents.

† Director of the kitchen. *Kabaub*, a well known article in Oriental cookery.

hommed Tekky to remind him, that as his obligations to the bounty of my ...er were great, it might have been expected that he, beyond all other men, ...ld have been overwhelmed with grief, shame, and sorrow: was this then ...only period which he could find for the marriage of his son, and its noisy ...ivities? When the messenger appeared among them the party seemed ...orbed in all the intoxication of mirth and jollity; but when the message was ...ivered, it was amusing to see the sudden change into confusion and dismay. ...etrated with remorse for such a proof of thoughtless levity, the same Hâkim ...ly, as an atonement, brought me a chaplet of pearl of the value of a lak of ...pees, of which at the moment I condescended to accept; but some days ...erwards, sending for him to my presence, I threw the chaplet round his neck. ...never could, in truth, afford me any real gratification to receive from any ...uals gifts or presents in any shape: on the contrary, towards my hand should ...ir eyes ever be turned; and so long as I retain the means, so long is it my ...y to bestow upon every one favour and rewards according to merit.

I bestowed upon Mahommed Khaun, now appointed to succeed to the govern...ent of the Punjaub, the donation of one lak of rupees, together with a costly ...es, and a scimitar, belt, and dagger, all richly set with diamonds and other ...ecious stones. This chief is of the family of the khauns of Ferrah. About ...e same time I despatched Mahommed Rezza with fifty thousand rupees, to be ...tributed among the poor and other inmates of the sacred or consecrated places ...t Dehly. I conferred the office of vezzeir of the empire upon Vezzeir Khaun, ...ving, while yet only first prince of the blood, already bestowed upon him the ...tle of Vezzeir-ul-Moulk, and advanced him from the command of five hundred ...o that of one thousand horse.

It is to be remembered that Sheikh Fereid Bokhaury was of the stock of ...eikh Jullaul, who was a distinguished disciple of Sheikh Behâ-ud-dein Zekka...ah of Multân. The ancestor in the fourth degree of Sheikh Fereid was Seyed Abdul Ghoffaur of Dehly; and this latter had bequeathed it to his children as ...n irrevocable charge, never to engage themselves as civil stipendiaries, but to ...evote their services entirely to the hazards of a military life. They are illus...trious among the Seyeds of Bokhara. Sheikh Fereid had previously held the ...ank of four thousand, but I advanced him to that of five thousand, with the ...ppendages of the great drum and standard.

To Mirza Rûstum, the son of Mirza Súltan Hûsseyne, governor of Kandahâr; ...o Abdurrahim Khaun, who bears the title of Khaun Khanan, and who is the ...on of Beiram Khaun Kuzzelbaush (red cap);* and to his two sons, Eiridje and Darab;

* This is rather a contemptuous appellation for the illustrious first minister of Akbar; it is the ...ignation of any ordinary Persian.

Teymûr, his father Eygou Teymûr having fallen in battle in the war wi Toktemesh Khaun. They were of the race of Arghûn Khaun, and hence th title of Terkhan and Arghûn.

An application was conveyed to me in behalf of the son of Rajah Mukso Khaun, the son of Mukhsous Khaun, so long engaged in the rebel transactio in Bengal and Bahâr. I caused it to be answered in reply, that as he could n well be in a state of mind to be quite satisfied with me, neither could I consid him a fit object for the goodness of God, nor for the countenance or encourag ment of an earthly sovereign.

Having instructed a commission of religious persons to arrange for me collection of the simple names of God, as far as they could discover, they fu nished me with a list of five hundred and twenty-two, exactly double the numb of those contained in my royal father's sacred rosary. They arranged these fi hundred and twenty-two names under twenty numerical letters (abjed), whic I caused to be inscribed (perhaps embroidered) in my mantle.* The evening Friday throughout the year I devoted invariably to the society of the learne and of pious and virtuous men of every description. For a twelvemonth pri to my accession to sovereign power I had adopted a resolution, on that evenin never, on any consideration, to taste either of wine or any intoxicating bevera whatever. I trust in Providence to enable me to abide by this resolution to th last moment of my existence, even to the awful day of universal reckonin Hitherto the Almighty has given me grace to persevere in it, and may the sam grace be continued to me for the remainder of my life.

I encouraged such individuals as were immediately in attendance about m person, whenever it was found that the stipend was inadequate to their statio and the circumstance should have escaped my own observation, to make know the deficiency to me, in order that the allowance might be respectively increas according to necessity. I gave orders that, until the period of mourning for m father should have expired, the people should abstain from every species sustenance but that dew made use of by the Souffies. During the same perio I also directed that in the celebration of marriage ceremonies, neither drum, n trumpet, nor any other description of music should be employed in any part the dominions subject to my authority, on pain of heavy displeasure.

While this ordinance was yet in force, a report was brought to me that a cer tain Hâkim Ally was celebrating the marriage of his son, and that in the ente tainment which he was giving on the occasion, he had assembled at his hous in the presence of the Kauzy the whole of a band of music belonging to Killid Khaun, and that in fact the whole city resounded with the noise. I despatch

Mahomm

* In the manuscript this is entirely unintelligible; it is however probably reddâï, a mantle or c

Jouggies, I had another daughter, who died a year old. Then by Shâei gum, the daughter of Ibrauhim Hûsseyne Mirza, who was the grandson by a ughter of Mirza Kamraun, I had another daughter, who died before she was ht months old. Again, by Sauheb Jamaul, the mother of Parveiz, I had other daughter, who died at the age of five months. After her, by Juggut ssaeine, the mother of Khorroum, I had a daughter, to whom I gave the name Izzet-ul-Nissa Begum: she died, however, at the age of five years. Again, he mother of Parveiz I had another son, to whom, at my accession to the ne, they gave the name of Jahaundar; and last of all, by the mother of Khorum I had another son, who received the name of Sheheryaur: both of these re born in the same month.

Having by his matrimonial alliances, already indicated,* considerably augented his influence, Maun Sing obtained such a predominance in my father's ernment, that he was permitted to reside alternately six months at court and months at his jagueir. As a proof of the affluence of his resources it is ficient to state, that whenever he repaired to my father's presence, it seldom urred that his compliment of homage did not amount to two laks of five hkaly ashrefies;† and so far did he outstrip all tha this grandfather, Bharmul, d attained to, that among the Rajahs of Hindustaun there is not one that can put on a parrallel with Rajah Maun Sing.

Another circumstance which I consider not unworthy of relation is the lowing. Sâeid Khaun, the governor of the Punjaub, had written to me a rtish note, requesting that Ghauze Beg, the son of Mirza Jaun Beg, might be rmitted to repair to him without delay, as he had just adopted him as a son. informed him in reply, that my father Akbar had entered into preliminaries f a matrimonial alliance with the Ghauze Beg, by which his sister was bethed to my son Khossrou, and as that contract was fulfilled he would be rmitted to depart. I should explain that the Mirza Jaun, or Jauny Beg, here ferred to, was the son of Fayendah Mahommed, the son of Mirza Bâky, the n of Mirza Aaby, son of Abdul Aaly Terkhan. This latter was prince of khâra in the time of Sûltan Mirza, and long numbered among his vassals the lebrated Shâhy Beg Khaun, monarch of the Ouzbeks, and many of his kinsmen. Abdul Aaly Terkhan was, moreover, descended from Shukkee Beg Terkhan, who had this title conferred upon him while yet a child, by the invincible Teymûr,

* The daughter of Rajah Bharmul was probably his sister; she was, as we have seen, the mother of hanguir's eldest son Khossrou.

† The value of the ashrefy is so problematical, that I am not yet able to speak with precision. A sage in the second volume of Abûl Fazzel's history makes it equal to nine rupees; the present here ken of would therefore be equivalent to eighteen laks of rupees, or £180,000 sterling.

with his conduct, so also do I hope that it will always be such as to deserve th
approbation of his God: certainly, to *this day*, I have not experienced aught a
his hands but the strictest fidelity and attachment.* My first child was, how
ever, a sister of Khossrou's by the same mother, and a year older than Khossro

After Khossrou, by the daughter of Sâeid Khaun, the son of Sultûn Saurun
prince of Kashobar, I had a daughter, to whom we gave the name of Ouff
Baunee Begum. She died at the age of three years. Next to her, by Sauhe
Jamaul, the neice of Zeyne Khaun Khoukah, I had a son born at Kabûl, on who
my father bestowed the name of Parveiz. Of him I pray God that he may live t
the utmost limit of human life, since from the singular activity and ready zeal o
his character I cherish of him the very highest expectations. The first servive o
which I thought fit to employ him is one of a religious nature against the Râna (o
Oudipour); and it is now the four-and-twentieth month since he was despatche
It is very gratifying to find that the Ameirs appointed to serve under his order
all express themselves entirely satisfied with his conduct. He has with him near
twenty thousand cavalry, all furnished with three spare horses each.

Next by the daughter of Derya Komm, a powerful Rajah at the foot of th
mountains of Lahour, I had a daughter born, to whom I gave the name o
Doulut Nisha Begum, who died at the age of seven months. Then anoth
daughter by Beiby Karmitty, of the family of Râey Pour, whom I named Bah
Baunu Begum: she lived only two months. Next by Juggut Gossâeine, th
daughter of Rajah Oudi Sing, who was master of eighty thousand horse, an
than whom among the Rajahs of Hind there were few more powerful, I ha
another daughter, who received the name of Begum Sûltaun, but who did no
survive her twelve months. By Sauheb Jamaul, who was the daughter of th
Rajah of Luknou, came also a daughter, who lived only seven days; and b
the daughter of Moutah Rajah† (Juggut Gossâeine) was born my son Khorroum‡
Possessed as he is of the brightest intellectual endowments, I cannot but hop
with the blessing of God, that in every virtue and good quality this my son ma
prove uninterruptedly progressive, as he is in all things conspicuously discree
In attention to my father he exceeded all my children, and he was accordingl
by him beloved beyond all others, my father repeatedly expressing to me, tha
such qualities as he discovered in him were not to be found in any other of my
children. Perhaps being then the youngest of all, he might have appeared in th
eyes of every one the loveliest.

After him, by the daughter of the prince of Kashmeir, who was of the society

* Not more than six months after this we shall find him, nevertheless, in arms against his pane
gyrist, and certainly there are some previous proofs not very advantageous to his filial character.

† The *fat* Rajah, title of Oudi Sing. ‡ Afterwards the Emperor Shahjahaun.

While I am on this subject I must further relate, that at the crisis of my return from Allahabad to the province of my father, of which hereafter, among the several Ameirs who accompanied me of whose fidelity I felt most assured, Sherreif Khaun was the man. And sixteen days after my accession, when he came to offer me his pledge of services, I can with a safe conscience aver, that the same day on which he thus made his appearance in my presence, God Almighty bestowed upon me a renewal of life, and I felt at the moment convinced that the eye of his providence was upon me. I felt indeed an assurance that, possessing the attachment of the Ameir-ul-Oomra alone, I was in very truth the sovereign of my people: for although at the time not exactly aware of any circumstances of doubt or danger, there was this conviction, that at the risk of life itself, Sherreif Khaun would be my defender. God is, indeed, equally the protector of all his creatures: yet is the possession of self-knowledge, of all things, to sovereigns the most indispensable. Such, at all events, I know to be the zeal and purity of the Ameir-ul-Oomra's attachment towards me, that when at last I dismissed him to the government of Bengal, over which I invested him with paramount authority, and confirmed to him his rank of five thousand, together with the great drum and standard, the day on which he was finally removed from my presence was one of the blackest of my life. I shall dwell no further on this subject than to add, that the father of Sherreif Khaun was a native of Shirâz, and his grandfather was Nizam-ul-Moulk, the Vezzeir of Shah Shuja, the sovereign of that state. His father was admitted to the intimate society of my grandfather Homayûn, and held, moreover, some of the highest dignities about the court of my father, being by the mother's side a sherreif, or descendant from the Prophet. An account of all these circumstances will, however, be found at large in the Zuffernâmah and Mûtlaa-ul-Saadein.

Certain considerations, nevertheless, prevailed with me some time afterwards to reinstate the Rajah Maun Sing in the government of Bengal, although he could himself have entertained no expectations of such a favour at my hands. I conferred upon him at the same time an honorary dress, or pellise, and a scimitar set with jewels, together with the horse Koukpárah, the best in my thousand-ashref horse stables. The first of the Râjpoot chieftains who became attached to the government of my father Akbar was Bharmul, the grandfather of this Rajah Maun Sing, and pre-eminent in his tribe for courage, fidelity, and truth. As a mark of distinguished favour, my father placed the daughter of Rajah Bharmul in his own palace, and finally espoused her to me. It was by this princess I had my son Khossrou. I was then only seventeen, and he is now twenty; and I trust that God Almighty may yet prolong his life to the age of one hundred and twenty: for as I have *hitherto* had every reason to be satisfied with

o wield either the pen or the sword. I also confirmed to Mokheim Khaun the itle of Vezzeir Khaun, bestowed upon him by my father, with the functions of Vezzeir annexed to the title. I appointed Khaujeki Futtah-ullah to be steward of my household. To Abdurrezauk Maaonmoury (the architect), who had formerly deserted my service and sought my father's protection, by whom he had been placed in the rank of Bukhshy, I assigned the same rank in my armies, giving him at the same time a khellaut (pellise) or dress of honour. In short, whether within the household or without, I not only permitted those who held places of trust or dignity about my father's court to retain their appointments, but to all, according to their respective degrees, gave advancement in rank and station.

Upon Sherreif Khaun, the son of Abdulhamid Messower (the portrait painter), who had grown up with me from infancy to manhood, and to whom, while yet but heir apparent, I had already given the title of Khaun, I conferred the dignity of Ameir-ul-Oomra, or premier grandee of the empire. And this entirely in consideration of his devoted attachment to my person, which is of that exalted degree, that I know not whether to esteem him most as a brother, friend, or son, or companion and inseparable associate: nay, I do not know but that I consider him as dear to me as one of the members of my own body. Upon the whole, as far as I am capable of judging, there is not to be found, in all the armies of this mighty empire, his equal, either in talent or experience; and yet I most solemnly aver, that although it has often been with me the subject of deep reflection, I have never been able to devise any title, station, or dignity that could be at all adequate to the opinion which I entertain of his exalted merit. It is however to be observed, that while my father reigned, it was the rule never to promote the greatest Ameirs beyond the command of five thousand, because it is to be apprehended the man who sees at his back a numerous body of warriors, and any deficiency in that respect, on the part of his sovereign, seldom fails to play the traitor, and to involve himself in the mazes of rebellion. This rule of my father's government I considered it expedient to maintain, and I accordingly limited his promotion to the command of five thousand only. Nevertheless, I am still persuaded that the commanding of five thousand is far short of what is due to the dignity of Ameir-ul-Oomra, a premier grandee of the empire. I have apprized him that all that belongs to me is at his disposal; and as to rank, he has limited his ambition to whatever in the spirit of kindness I may think proper to bestow upon him. More than this, he has frequently assured me, that while he is before the world, that is, engaged in public life, he would never accept from me of any rank beyond that of five thousand: to which I have yielded my reluctant assent.

While

in the conveyance of the imperial baggage, including the silver utensils, carpets, and other articles of equipage of different descriptions belonging to the imperial household. I only desire on this subject farther to remark, that this establishment of elephants was maintained at an annual expense of not less than four hundred and sixty laks of ashrefies,* exclusively of what was incurred in looking after them, each separate animal requiring fifteen persons to provide for it, and a guard of one thousand men being posted at every station of a thousand elephants.

On this subject I shall add one more circumstance, and then dismiss it altogether. One day the foujdaur of one of my elephant stations reported to me that Sûltan Ahmed, the son of Ammaudy Hûsseyne Beg, had sold an elephant of the first quality to Shûkkour Allah Beg, the son of Zeyne Khaun Koukah, for the sum of sixty thousand ashrefies :† on which information I at first determined that this Sûltan Ahmed should be thrown under the feet of an elephant and trampled to death; for by a particular regulation I had provided that no elephant of this prime description should be sold or purchased otherwise than for the use of the state. But feeling a repugnance to put any of God's people to death on such an occasion, I endeavoured to palliate the offence, and observed that this person had done well, for that every man ought to be master of his own property; my object being to lay a restraint upon all communications of this description in my presence. I accordingly admonished the foujdaur as a detractor, and assured him that if ever he introduced such a subject again in my presence, he might expect the severest punishment in my power to inflict.

Sheikh Fereid, the Bokharian, who held the appointment of Meir Bukhshy under the authority of my father, I confirmed in his appointment, bestowing upon him, according to usage, an honorary dress and scimitar set with jewels. I added at the same time, for his encouragement, an expression of the high opinion which I entertained of his merit, by pronouncing him equally competent to

* This cannot be otherwise than a stupendous exaggeration, for such a sum would be equivalent to the enormous aggregate of sixty-nine millions sterling! The ashrefy must therefore have been a denomination of coin of much smaller value than our estimate of fifteen rupees. Abûl Fazzel in a part of his history makes it equal to nine rupees; but it would be extravagant at almost any valuation —at a fourth part, even, it would be upwards of seventeen millions sterling! Allowing the keep of an elephant at thirty rupees a month, at the lowest, for twelve thousand elephants the expense would be three laks and sixty thousand rupees (£36,000) a month, or £432,000 per annum. On the whole, whether in the enumeration of the elephants, or in the sum for their maintenance, there surely must be some extraordinary exaggeration; and this probably must lay with the person who copied the manuscript.

† This must have been the dearest of all elephants, for it must have cost nine laks of rupees, or £90,000 sterling.

from him sufficient proof of his refractory and undutiful disposition, I continued to make him a visit in his prison regularly once a month, having assigned to him moreover, for his subsistence, the monthly sum of three laks of ashrefies, with permission that his children should visit their father once every week.

Sâeid Khaun was one of the members hereditarily attached to the service of my father, and he had been promoted by me to the government of the Punjaub and the command of the army of Lahour. On this occasion he had received from me an elephant and dress of honour, the latter from my own wardrobe together with a girdle and khanjar, or kreisse, enriched with jewels, also a horse and caparison and jeighah (aigrette or ornament for the turban), the two latter richly set with precious stones. This chief was of a Moghûl tribe, and his ancestors had also been long in the service of mine. Soon after he had quitted my presence, however, and had proceeded some stages on his march, it was intimated to me by some of my people, that he had among his domestics men of a cruel and tyrannical disposition, notorious for courses of oppression in various ways towards the poor and those subject to their authority. Without a moment's delay, I despatched Khaujah Saadek, the son of Mahommed Yaheya, to announce to him that as all mankind, both high and low, were equal in my contemplation my love of justice did not permit me to overlook an act of oppression in any man. "Did the renown of Solomon surpass that of all the kings of the earth? He owed it all to the applause which he derived from his inflexible love of justice." The messenger was accordingly charged to assure them, that if from that moment there occurred the slightest proof of arbitrary proceeding among his train, the punishment would be as exemplary as it would be unmitigating. The instant this message was communicated to him, he penned an obligation in writing, which he delivered to Khaujah Saadek, purporting that if on any occasion, either in himself or any of those employed under his authority, there arose the slightest ground for a charge of oppression or injustice, his head should be the forfeit. And the engagement, thus written, he forwarded by the same Khaujah to my presence.

In order to ensure for those noble animals the regular supply of grain and water, I appointed a foujdaur, or superintendent, to every division of one thousand elephants in my train. I shall here notice, that although the elephants subsisted under my government are more in number than can be readily counted, there are twelve thousand only of a size and temper to be employed against the ranks of an enemy in the field of battle. To these must be added one thousand of a smaller size, employed to supply the larger with forage and grain. Exclusive of these must be mentioned *one hundred thousand* required to carry the amharahs, or covered litters of the females of the imperial family, and otherwise

...ikaly ashrefies.* The principal idol in this temple had on its head a tiara ...cap, enriched with jewels to the amount of three laks of ashrefies. He had ...ed in this temple moreover, as the associates and ministering servants of the ...ipal idol,† four other images of solid gold, each crowned with a tiara, in the ... manner enriched with precious stones. It was the belief of these Jehenne...s that a dead Hindû, provided when alive he had been a worshipper, when ... before this idol would be restored to life. As I could not possibly give ...t to such a pretence, I employed a confidential person to ascertain the truth; ..., as I justly supposed, the whole was detected to be an impudent imposture. ...his discovery I availed myself, and I made it my plea for throwing down the ...ple which was the scene of this imposture; and on the spot, with the very ... materials, I erected the great mosque, because the very name of Isslâm was ...cribed at Banaras, and with God's blessing it is my design, if I live, to fill it ... with true believers.

...n this subject I must however acknowledge, that having on one occasion ...d my father the reason why he had forbidden any one to prevent or inter... with the building of these haunts of idolatry, his reply was in the ...wing terms: "My dear child," said he, "I find myself a puissant monarch, ... shadow of God upon earth. I have seen that he bestows the blessings of his ...ious providence upon all his creatures without distinction. Ill should I ...harge the duties of my exalted station, were I to withhold my compassion ... indulgence from any of those entrusted to my charge With all of the human ..., with all of God's creatures, I am at peace: why then should I permit ...elf, under any consideration, to be the cause of molestation or aggression to ... one? Besides, are not five parts in six of mankind either Hindûs or aliens to ... faith; and were I to be governed by motives of the kind suggested in your ...ury, what alternative can I have but to put them all to death! I have ...ght it therefore my wisest plan to let these men alone. Neither is it to be ...otten, that the class of whom we are speaking, in common with the other ...bitants of Agrah, are usefully engaged, either in the pursuits of science or ... arts, or of improvements for the benefit of mankind, and have in numerous ...ances arrived at the highest distinctions in the state, there being, indeed, to ... found in this city men of every description, and of every religion on the face ...the earth."

... had been constrained to imprison my eldest son Khossrou in the upper part ...the royal tower in the castle of Agrah; nevertheless, although I had received from

* Five krour and forty laks of rupees. It must be confessed that these appear to be enormous ...ggerations.

† This was probably an image of Bûddah.

cular, the ananauss* (pine-apple), being among the most delicious of th reared in the island of the Frengueis (or Portuguese); of which fruit this sa garden has been known in a season to have produced nearly one hund thousand.

Of other fruits which it produced in sufficient abundance, there were grap of the most esteemed and delicious kinds, several kinds of apples, apricots Suliman and Abbas, and beh-alu (some kind of plum), together with a vari of other sorts of fruits brought from Kabul and the parts of the west, hithe strangers to the climate of Hindûstaun, but now cultivated with abundant su cess. Here also was introduced the sandal tree, peculiar to the islands of Ze or Zubberbad (*Qu.*). With regard to the Hindûstauny fruits, they were in su multiplied variety as it would be tedious to enumerate. Of flowers there w every sort of the rose, and particularly the musk and damask rose, together wi the jessamin and gûltchemeily, the latter the most esteemed of Indian flowe In short, the flowers and flowering shrubs introduced into the Gûlafshaun gard were in such endless variety as to surpass all powers of description.

The citadel or castle of Agrah, as already intimated, was rebuilt by my fath from the foundation altogether of red hewn stone, with four principal entran and two sally ports. It was, in fact, a monument of his power, so perfect execution that one might almost venture to say it was a fabric shaped by t architect of eternal destiny from a single rock. The workmanship alone w completed at the expense of not less than one hundred and eighty-six laks ashrefies of five methkals each.†

At the same time, emulating the example of their sovereign, every member the court and subject of the empire, each according to his station, hastened construct and lay out on the city and its environs mansions of the most sumptuo description, and the most beautiful gardens, so as to render the place altogeth the object of universal delight and admiration. In very truth it is a wonderf city; and hence it is not surprising that in the esteem of mankind it has bee placed on the same rank with Gualiar and Muttra, the latter the birth-place *Krishna*, whom the Indian nations, in their ignorance, adore as the supre being, and who, when they would speak in language of the highest praise, refer these *three* places as surpassing all other cities in the known world.

I am here led to relate that at the city of Banaras a temple had been erect by Rajah Maun Sing, which cost him the sum of nearly thirty-six laks of fi methka

* The fact is curious, as indicating that the pine was introduced into India by the Portuguese.

† Twenty-six krour and fifty-five laks of rupees, reckoning the ashrefy at fifteen rupees, that is say, £26,550,000!

Again, when Sekunder Lodi was on his march from Dehly, which was at that period the metropolis of the Indian monarchy, for his attack on Gualeem, he came to Agrah, to which he immediately removed the seat of government from Dehly. And finally, when the Almighty Disposer of events thought fit in his wisdom to confer the empire of Hindûstaun upon our illustrious race, my ancestor the Emperor Bâber, after the defeat of Ibrahim, the son of Sekunder Lodi, the capture of Dehly, and subsequent reduction of Bengal, evinced his predilection for Agrah, by forming, on a spot on the opposite side of the Jumnah remarkable for the purity of the air, a spacious and magnificent garden. In one part of the garden he erected an elegant pavilion of hewn stone (green marble) of four stories, surmounted by a dome of twenty guzz in diameter,* and surrounded by a colonnade or gallery, the pillars of which were of polished marble, and the ceilings decorated with gold and lapis-lazuli, formed into beautiful figures of the most elaborate workmanship. Within the gardens, moreover, he planted a covered avenue, carried to the distance of two kôsse in length, all of saury trees, each of which grows to the height of fifty cubits,† the branches spreading at the top like an umbrella. In effect, for the formation of such an avenue, nothing can be better calculated than these lofty and graceful trees. In the centre of the garden (it might indeed without impropriety be called a park) he formed a basin one kôsse in circumference, the sides of which were faced all round with hewn stone, and in the centre of the basin he erected another pavilion of two stories, in which might be seated two hundred persons if necessary. The doors and walls of this also were decorated with beautiful figures of the most delicate designs, and the pavillion was approached by a convenient arched bridge of hewn stone. This garden extended altogether over a space of two hundred and fifty jerreibs,‡ and received the name of Berugh-e-gulaf-shaun—the rose-diffusing. In an angle of the garden he also erected a spacious mosque, with a vaulted well § attached. During the reign of the same illustrious monarch, many kinds of fruit foreign to the climate of Hindustuan were also introduced and planted in this garden. I shall mention one in particular,

* About thirty-seven feet.

† At twenty-two inches to the cubit, this would be ninety-two feet high. The saury or betel-nut is a graceful slender tree, which grows to a great height.

‡ Something less than as many acres. A jerreib is said by Richardson to be as much sown ground as will produce 768 lb. of corn, or about ten bushels.

§ Tchahjeneibah. I conjecture this to be a well of that kind which is to be seen in some parts of India, with galleries and spacious flights of steps extending from top to bottom; or perhaps it was meant to express merely a contiguous well.

and four stories high. Such is the immensity of the population, that from the hour of evening prayer to the close of the first quarter of the night, the throng is so densely wedged, that it is not without the utmost difficulty the people can pass and repass along the streets.

As an attempt to ascertain in some degree the extent of this multitudinous population, I directed Melek Ally, the kotwaal, a superintendant of police one day to make a tour through the city, and count the individuals assembled in the different maarekahs, or theatres for athletæ or pugilists; and his report was, that in none of these places did he find assembled less than two and three thousand persons, although it was neither the first of the new year, nor any of those days of public rejoicing on which it was usual for the people to appear abroad for amusement. From this it is considered that some estimate may be formed of the enormous multitude which thronged the city in every quarter. Add to this, that every day through the year there were conveyed to the place by boats along the Jumnah not less than ten thousand loads of fuel, and yet for dirrems it would be difficult to purchase a single branch, so rapid was the demand. For nearly eight months, moreover, which is the duration of the dry season, or the interval between the periodical rains, not less than five and six thousand horses for sale daily enter the city from Kabûl and the countries in that direction; and such is the rapidity with which they are disposed of, that not one is to be purchased on the succeeding day. In short, I do not know in the whole world, in magnitude and the multitude of its inhabitants, that is any city to be compared with the metropolis of Agrah.

With regard to situation, it lies in the second of the seven climates, with Kanouje to the east, Nagour to the west, Sumbul to the north, and to the south Chandeiry. [The imperial narrator introduces here the verses composed by Karuffy, a poet of Shirauz, in praise of Agrah, in the time of Akbar, when speaking of the palace of Sultan Khorrom, afterwards the Emperor Shahjahaun, which it is quite unnecessary, as well as tedious, to repeat.]

Agrah was, however, a city of considerable magnitude, even prior to the supremacy of the Afghans, and it is spoken of in terms of admiration by a poet of Gheznîn, in the time of Mûssaoud, the son of Ibrahim, the twelfth of the race of Sebectegîn, Mahmoud Ghazi being the fourth. With regard to the river Jumnah, we learn from the writings of the Hindûs, that it has its source in the mountains, which, from the intensity of the cold, are inaccessible to the approach of man without the greatest difficulty. When it first makes its appearance near Hasserabad to the north-west, it rushes with such impetuous force, that an elephant would be swept away like a straw. From the foot of the citadel of Agrah it bends its course in the direction of Bengal.

Agrah

lion against the authority of their father; in the course of which, retiring e summits of the hills, they there erected these forts to screen themselves the punishment due to their parricidal rebellion. And yet will it be believed, in the space of not more than four years, the whole of that country, a try of many months' journey in extent, with all its numberless forts, was pletely subjugated by my father, all the sons of the Rajah being alternately royed; and the Rajah himself falling alive into the hands of his adversaries, lly submitted to the conqueror.

mong these my earliest regulations, I ordained that the precious metals ded in the royalties of the empire should be coined anew in my own im-al name, assigning to each coin an altered denomination: thus, to the gold er of two thousand tolahs,* I gave the name of nour-e-shahy—light of kingdom; to that of one thousand tolahs, nour-jahaun—light of the world; hat of five hundred tolahs, nour-e-doulut—light of the state; to that of hundred, nour-moher—light of the sun; and to that of one tolah, which substituted for the gold rupee, I gave the designation of Nour-ud-deen hommed, Jahangueir Padshah—light of the faith of Mahommed, Jahangueir peror. Moreover, for every one of these coins in gold I struck a corres-ding piece in silver, exhibiting on one side the year of my reign, on the er the attestation of our faith: La-illauh-il-ullah, and Mahommed-ur-russoul-lh—there is no God but God, and Mahommed is the messenger of God.

The city of Agrah, it were almost superfluous to observe, is one of the atest in Hindustan; and being defended by a citadel of great antiquity, my her had caused such citadel to be thrown down, and a new fabric of hewn ne to be erected on the site, as will be noticed in another place. I shall e only remark further, that the city is built on both banks of the river mnah, that part which is situated on the hither, or western side, being four sse in breadth and ten kôsse in circumference, and that on the opposite side ing not more than two kôsse in breadth, and three kôsse in circumference. e multiplicity of noble structures erected on all sides, such as mosques of perior magnitude, baths, spacious caravanserais, and splendid private palaces, to an extent that would place it on a par with the most celebrated cities in k, Khorassaun, and the famed territory beyond the Jeyhoun (the Oæure), e ordinary dwellings of the inhabitants being built, for the greater part. three and

* As far as I can remember, on the western side of India the silver rupee was the weight of a lah; and in Richardson's Persian Dictionary, under the word *sikkah*, the reader will find the cription of a gold coin of the value of £300. The weight of two thousand rupees would however preposterous for any portable coin; it must then have been of that value only, which would be £200.

To the individual stipendiaries of the government I assigned, at the s time, an increased allowance, in the proportion of fifteen to ten (that is, him that had only ten, I assigned fifteen rupees), and to novices in trade, arti possibly employed in the different arsenals, from ten to twelve in the aggreg I augmented the allowance to the inmates of my father's harram, consisting nearly seven thousand individuals, from two to four ashrefies of five methkal day each respectively,* and independently of the royal presents which I convey to them on the usual annual festivals and days of rejoicing. During the reign my father, the ministers of religion and students in law and literature, to number of two and three thousand, in the principal cities of the empire, w already allowed pensions from the state; and to these, in conformity with regulations established by my father, I directed Meiran Sudder Jahzan, one the noblest among the Seyeds of Herât, to allot a subsistence correspond with their situation; and this not only to the subjects of my own realms, but foreigners—to natives of Persia, Roum, Bokhára, and Azerbaijan, with st charge that this class of men should not be permitted either want or inconve ence in any shape: "Wealth is from God—all power is from him—and these his servants:"—and since it hath pleased him, from among so many hund thousand laks of the human race, to chuse me for the monarch of a mighty e pire, of which the reins have thus been placed in my hands, I could not justified in permitting distress to lay hold of those devoted to his service, or neglecting to make myself acquainted with all their wants, and to adopt them the objects of my peculiar care. For how fearful my responsibility on the gr and awful day of account, were my conduct to be the reverse of what is h stated.

In the next place I decreed a general pardon and enlargement of prison throughout the empire, so that from the fortress of Gualiar alone there were at liberty not less than seven thousand individuals, some of whom had been confinement for forty years. Of the number discharged altogether on th occasion, some conception may be formed when it is mentioned, that within th limits of Hindustan there are not less than two thousand four hundred fortre of name and competent strength, exclusively of those in the kingdom Bengal, which surpass all reckoning: for Rajah Maun Sing had not less th two hundred and eighty sons, all of whom, at one time or another, were rebelli

* Calculating the ashrefy at fifteen rupees, this would make a daily expenditure, on this h alone, of £42,000, or £1,260,000 a month, and £15,120,000 per annum: a sum rather be credibility.

tly disposed, we ought not, I say, to negociate on any terms, because their views invariably tend towards convulsions on the state, and their increasing prayers are for dissention and civil broil, as offering the only means of advancing their own base and sordid plans of ambition, *forgetting that they are themselves the very description of men to be first swept away by the storm.*

So just was the observation ascribed to Shah Tahmasp of Persia, now in Paradise, that I cannot forbear to introduce it in this place. Having just finished a tank or reservoir near one of his palaces, it occurred to him to ask his courtiers what they thought the best substance with which to fill it, independently of water. One of them gave his opinion in favour of gold. "Thou hast well said," replied the monarch, "for thy prevailing propensity is avarice." Another said he should like to see it brimful of sherbet, sugar, and rose-water, intermingled with pieces of ice. "Apparently," observed the king, "thou art an opium-eater, and hast very correctly indicated thine appetite." Others described one thing, and others different sorts of things, according to their several ideas; but Shah Tahmasp concluded by a declaration, that neither of these opinions coincided with the sentiments of his own mind; for that, in his judgment, the reservoir could not be better filled than with the blood of turbulent and disaffected men, the agents of tumult and commotion.* And most truly, do I say, was it spoken; for since the death of my father, I have had abundant experience that the number of loyal and faithful men is deplorably small, and, if indeed at all to be met with, not more than one in a hundred thousand.

Of Shah Abbas, while I was yet prince royal, I remember hearing it related, that his attachment to Ferhaâd Khaun, one of his ministers, was so powerful, that once, when the minister lay sick of his wounds, his sovereign, during his frequent visits in the morning, was accustomed with his own tongue to lick the wounds; and he had been raised by his master to the very highest dignities in the Persian empire. Yet after all, was the monarch compelled to take off the head of the man so singularly cherished. I cannot entertain a doubt but that the Shah had too many reasons in justification: for long have I been convinced, that to tie up the hand against punishing the ingratitude of the traitor, is of all follies the most egregious. And yet, when thoroughly tried, the good and faithful servant cannot be too highly and liberally cherished. It cannot, however, be too often repeated, that the wretch who traffics for an advance of stipend at the moment his services are required, needs no further trial. He can be no other than a disloyal profligate.

To

* If the word in the manuscript be *keliktchee*, it would signify agents of commotion.

by violence of the lands of the subject, or from cultivating them on their o account; neither was the Jaguirdaur or feudatory of any district to exer any sort of authority beyond the limits of his own, nor to force either man beast from another district into his own. On the contrary, his attention was be wholly and exclusively devoted to the cultivation and improvement of t district allotted to himself.

9. [This article is perfectly unintelligible in the manuscript, but see directed to impose some restraint on the improper use of theriauk or antido of any kind, or possibly prescribing the rule by which they shall be ministered.]

10. The governors in all the principal cities were directed to establ infirmaries or hospitals, with competent medical aid for the relief of the si who were to be conveyed thither; the expense to be defrayed from the i perial exchequer until the final recovery of the patient, who was then to discharged with a sufficient sum of money for his exigencies.

11. During the month of my birth, which was that of the former Rebbi the use of all animal food was prohibited both in town and country; and equidistant periods throughout the year a day was set apart, on which slaughtering of animals was strictly forbidden. In every week also, on Th day, that being the day of my accession, and Sunday, was forbidden the us animal food, it being considered unjustifiable to deprive any animal of life that day on which the creation of the world was finished. For a period more than eleven years was the same abstinence observed by my father, du which on no consideration would he permit himself to taste of animal food o Sunday. On that day, therefore, I thought it right to prohibit the use of s food in every place throughout my dominions.

12. I issued a decree confirming the dignitaries and feudatories of my fath government in all that they had enjoyed while he was living; and where I fo sufficient merit, I conferred an advance of rank in various gradations. Th commander of ten horse I advanced to the command of fifteen, and so on proportion to the highest dignitaries of the realm.

On this point I cannot restrain myself from invoking the judgment of hea upon those unworthy servants who had not the understanding to appreciate value of the benefits thus liberally bestowed upon them. Such, I am comp to observe, is the perverseness of human nature, that there were among th individuals who could not be brought, without the greatest reluctance, to y to me the ordinary marks of homage and allegiance.* With men thus t

* Kornesh and tesleim. These remarks refer to the adherents of his eldest son Khus whom hereafter.

six ounces), and eight cups being equal to a maunn of Irâk.* So far, indeed, was this baneful propensity carried, that if I were but an hour without my beverage, my hands began to shake and I was unable to sit at rest. Convinced by these symptoms, that if the habit gained upon me in this proportion my situation must soon become one of the utmost peril, I felt it full time to devise some expedient to abate the evil: and in six months I accordingly succeeded in reducing my quantity gradually from twenty to five cups a day. At entertainments I continued, however, to indulge in a cup or two more: and on most occasions I made it a rule never to commence my indulgence until about two hours before the close of the day. But now that the affairs of the empire demand my utmost vigilance and attention, my potations do not commence until after the hour of evening prayer, my quantity never exceeding five cups on any occasion; neither would more than that quantity suit the state of my stomach. Once a day I take my regular meal, and once a day seems quite sufficient to assuage my appetite for wine; but as drink seems not less necessary than meat for the sustenance of man, it appears very difficult, if not impossible, for me to discontinue altogether the use of wine. Nevertheless, I bear in mind, and I trust in heaven that, like my grandfather Homayun, who succeeded in divesting himself of the habit before he attained to the age of forty-five, I also may be supported in my resolution, some time or other to abandon the pernicious practice altogether. "In a point wherein God has pronounced his sure displeasure, let the creature exert himself ever so little towards amendment, and it may prove, in no small degree, the means of eternal salvation."

6. No person was permitted to take up his abode obtrusively in the dwelling of any subject of my realm. On the contrary, when individuals serving in the armies of the state came to any town, and could without compulsion secure an abode by rent, it were commendable; otherwise they were to pitch their tents without the place, and prepare habitations for themselves. For what grievance could be more irksome to the subject than to see a perfect stranger obtrude into the bosom of his family, and take possession most probably of the most convenient part of his dwelling, leaving to his women and children, peradventure, not space enough to stretch out an arm!

7. No person was to suffer, for any offence, the loss of a *nose* or *ear*. If the crime were theft, the offender was to be scourged with thorns, or deterred from further transgression by an attestation on the Korán.†

8. The Krouries and Jaguirdaurs were prohibited from possessing themselves by

* About three pounds.

† The same defect in the manuscript already complained of, compels us here, as well as in several other places, to rely upon conjecture.

vided that where the district was immediately dependent on the crown, and the residence of a Kroury,* that officer was authorized to prosecute these works at the expense of the imperial treasury.

3. Merchants travelling through the country were not to have their bales or packages of any kind opened without their consent. But when they were perfectly willing to dispose of any article of merchandize purchasers were permitted to deal with them, without, however, offering any species of molestation.

4. When a person shall die and leave children, the individual not being in the employment of the state, no man whatever was to interfere a pin's point in his property, nor to offer the slightest molestation to the children: but when there were neither children nor direct or unquestionable heirs, the inheritance was to be applied to defray the expenses incurred for mosques and talaub, or water-tanks, so as to secure perpetual blessings on the soul of the departed.

5. No person was permitted either to make or sell either wine or any other kind of intoxicating liquor. I undertook to institute this regulation, although it is sufficiently notorious that I have myself the strongest inclination for wine, in which from the age of sixteen I have liberally indulged. And in very truth, encompassed as I was with youthful associates of congenial minds, breathing the air of a delicious climate—ranging through lofty and splendid saloons, every part of which decorated with all the graces of painting and sculpture, and the floors bespread with the richest carpets of silk and gold, would it not have been a species of folly to have rejected the aid of an exhilarating cordial—and what cordial can surpass the juice of the grape? May it not happen that theriauk, or opiates, or stimulants, have been rendered habitual to the constitution? and heaven forbid that this should deprive a man of the most generous feelings of his nature. With some acknowledged beneficial effects, it must however be confessed, that these indulgences to excess must expose a man's infirmities, prostrate his constitutional vigour, and awaken false desires, such being the most injurious properties belonging to the list of stimulants.† At the same time, we cannot but remember that kelourica is brother's son to theriauk.

For myself, I cannot but acknowledge that such was the excess to which I had carried my indulgence, that my usual daily allowance extended to twenty, and sometimes to more than twenty cups, each cup containing half a seir (about six

* This was an office instituted by Akbar, and the functionary was so called because he had the collection of a krour, or one hundred lak, of *daums*, of which latter there were forty to the rupee.

† The passage included in this paragraph has been so carelessly copied in the Persian manuscript that we have had the greatest difficulty in making out the sense.

tion by which he invariably addressed me. And, peradventure, I might have been contented to the last with the title of Sultan Seleim: but to place myself on a par with the monarchs of the Turkish empire (Roum), and considering that universal conquest is the peculiar vocation of sovereign princes, I thought it incumbent on me to assume at my accession that of Jahangueir Padshah, as the title which best suited my character: and I trust, with the aid of a gracious Providence, with length of life, and a favouring star, that I shall so acquit myself as to justify the appellation.

The very first ordinance which issued from me, on ascending the throne of my ancestors, was that which related to the chain of justice, one end of which I caused to be fastened to the battlements of the royal tower of the castle of Agrah, and the other to a stone pillar near the bed of the river Jumnah; to the end that, when at any time the dispensers of law under my authority might fail in the administration of justice, the injured party by applying his hand to the chain would find himself in the way of obtaining speedy redress. The chain was of gold, one hundred and forty guzz in length, with eighty small bells attached at different distances, and it was of the weight of sixty maunns of Hindústaun, equal to six hundred maunns of Irák.*

I instituted twelve special regulations, to be applied by the different functionaries of the empire as rules of conduct, never to be deviated from in their respective stations.

1. I remitted altogether to my subjects three several sources of revenue, the Tekhaut, Sermohary, and Tumgha, which in the whole yielded to my father no less than sixteen hundred Hindustany maunns of gold, equal to sixteen thousand maunns of Irák.†

2. I ordained that wherever the property of God's people entrusted to my charge should be wrested from them, either by highway robbery or any other act of violence, the inhabitants of the district, as best knowing whence it proceeded, should be compelled to produce either the property or the depredator. I directed, when the district lay waste or destitute of inhabitants, that towns should be built, and the population registered, and every method resorted to that might contribute to protect the subject from injury. I charged the Jaguirdaurs, or feudatories of the empire, in such deserted places to erect mosques and substantial serrais, or stations for the accommodation of travellers, in order to render the district once more an inhabited country, and that wayfaring men might again be able to pass and repass in safety. For these purposes I pro-vided

* About fifteen hundred-weight, reckoning the maunn at 28 lbs. or a quarter of an hundred-weight.

† About twenty-two tons and a half.

Adjmeir, a distance of not less than one hundred and forty kôss,* for the so
purpose of offering his vows at the shrine of the saint. As my father's determ
nation sprung from the sincerity of his heart, just six months after the death
my last departed infant brother, namely, on Wednesday the seventeenth of th
former month of Rebbeia, of the year of the Hidjerah 978,† the sun being
the twenty-fourth degree of *Libra*, and when seven gurries of the day wer
passed, the Most High ushered the humble narrator of these events into th
stage of existence.

Faithful to his engagement, my father, whose mansion is now on the emp
rean, accompanied by several of the most distinguished Ameirs of his court, too
his departure from Agrah, and proceeding on foot at the rate of five koss a da
presented himself on his arrival at Adjmeir before the shrine of Moyen-ud-deen
and having performed his devotions, hastened without further delay in quest
the derveish, through the influence of whose piety he had obtained the obje
of his anxious supplications. The pious recluse bore the name of Sheikh Seleim
and my father, on repairing to the place of his residence, then lodging me
his arms, intreated him to pray to God for the safety of his infant child. Th
however was not all: during his visit my father ventured to inquire of th
derveish if he could undertake to tell him the number of the sons whom th
Almighty in his providence had decreed to bestow upon him. Elated at th
moment by the presence of his imperial visitor, the derveish did not hesitate
announce to my father that Providence would bless him with three sons. "
these," cried my father, "I have cast the first-born into thy bosom."—"Blessin
upon it," replied the derveish, "since thou hast committed the child to my arm
I have given him the name of Mahommed Seleim." Accepting these testimoni
of attention on the part of the derveish as greatly auspicious to his hopes, m
father then returned to his capital, where, for the space of fourteen years afte
wards, he continued to maintain with this holy recluse an intercourse of th
closest intimacy.

[In this place there appears something of an omission in the manuscript,
the imperial memorialist is made to refer rather abruptly to the village of Sikr
to which, in commemoration of the conquest of Gûjerat, he states that his fath
gave the name of Futtahpour—Nicopolis.]

I must however observe, continues the imperial narrator, that from my fathe
anointed lips, I never on any occasion heard myself called by the name
Mahommed Seleim; baba (child) being the more paternal and affectionate ap
latte

* The kôss is an indefinite measurement, from one and a half to two miles and upwards.

† 18th of August, A.D. 1570; this prince at his accession could therefore be no more than thirty

predecessors. At the point in the centre of the top part of the crown was a gle pearl of four mithkals, of the value of one lak of ashrefies; and on ferent parts of the same were set altogether two hundred rubies of one mithk each, and each of the value of six thousand rupees.*

For forty days and forty nights I caused the nuggaurah, or great imperial e drum, to strike up, without ceasing, the strains of joy and triumph; and for extent of nearly fifty zereibs around my throne, the ground was spread by directions with the most costly brocades and gold embroidered carpets. nsors of gold and silver were disposed in different directions for the purpose burning odoriferous drugs, and nearly three thousand camphorated wax lights, ee cubits in length, in branches of gold and silver perfumed with ambergris, uminated the scene from night till morning. Numbers of blooming youths, autiful as young Joseph in the pavilions of Egypt, clad in dresses of the most stly materials, woven in silk and gold, with zones and amulets sparkling with e lustre of the diamond, the emerald, the sapphire, and the ruby, awaited my mmands, rank after rank, and in attitude most respectful. And finally, the meirs of the empire, from the captain of five hundred to the commander of five ousand horse, and to the number of nine individuals, covered from head to ot in gold and jewels, and shoulder to shoulder, stood round in brilliant array, o waiting for the commands of their sovereign. For forty days and forty ghts did I keep open to the world these scenes of festivity and splendour, rnishing altogether an example of imperial magnificence seldom paralleled in is stage of earthly existence.

Until he had attained to the age of eight and twenty my father had had no hild that survived its birth beyond one astronomical hour; and the circumstance was to him the subject of very deep concern. To obtain, therefore, the bject of his wishes in this respect, many and anxious were the supplications hich he addressed to the throne of Omnipotence. While he languished in this ate of anxiety, one of his Ameirs, aware of his unbounded reverence for, and nfidence in the influence of the class of derveishes, mentioned to him one ay, that at the tomb of the venerated Moyen-ud-dein Tehousty, at Adjmeir, here resided a peir, or holy recluse, distinguished for the purity of his life and anners, in which, as he said, not only in India, but in the whole world, he was at day without his equal. In the ardour of zeal and hope, my father expressed determination, that should Providence bestow upon him a child that might rvive, he would walk all the way on foot from the metropolis of Agrah to Adjmeir,

* Altogether, then, this superb symbol of supreme power may be valued at two millions and seventy ousand pounds sterling.

upon the winds? As at the very instant that I seated myself on the throne sun-rose from the horizon, I accepted this as the omen of victory, and indicating a reign of unvarying prosperity. Hence I assumed the titles Jahangueir Padshah, and Jahangueir Shah: the world-subduing emperor; world-subduing king. I ordained that the following legend should be stamp on the coinage of the empire: "Stricken at Agrah by that Khossrou, the guard of the world; the sovereign splendour of the faith, Jahangueir, son of imperial Akbar."

On this occasion I made use of the throne prepared by my father, and enrich at an expense without parallel, for the celebration of the festival of the new ye at the entrance of the sun into Aries. In the fabrication of the throne a su not far short of ten krours of ashrefies,* of five mithkals the ashrefy, w expended in jewels alone; a krour being the term for an hundred laks, and a l being one hundred thousand, independently of three hundred maunns of go Hindustanny measure, employed in the workmanship, each maunn of Hind bei equal to ten maunns of Irâk.† For the convenience of removal from place place the throne was, moreover, so constructed, that it could be easily taken pieces, and again put together at pleasure. The legs and body of the thro were at the same time loaded with fifty maunns of ambergris, so that where it might be found expedient to put it together, no further perfumes were nec sary, for an assemblage of whatever magnitude.

Having thus seated myself on the throne of my expectations and wishes, caused also the imperial crown, which my father had caused to be made aft the manner of that which was worn by the great kings of Persia, to be broug before me, and then, in the presence of the whole assembled Ameirs, havi placed it on my brows, as an omen auspicious to the stability and happiness my reign, kept it there for the space of a full astronomical hour. On each the twelve points of this crown was a single diamond of the value of one lak ashrefies of five mithkals, the whole purchased by my father with the resourc of his own government, not from any thing accruing to him by inheritance fro

* A krour of ashrefies is synonimous with gold mohrs, which I have reason to think would equal to fifteen krours of rupees; and ten krours of ashrefies would be one hundred and fifty krours rupees, or about one hundred and fifty millions sterling! an incredible sum. Instead therefore ten, we shall read two krours of ashrefies, and thirty krours of rupees, still making thirty milli sterling. We shall here remark that *noble* would be the appropriate English version of ashre Again, the Bombay maunn is estimated at about twenty-eight pounds, or a quarter of a hundred-weig and three hundred maunns will therefore be about four tons of gold.

† Calculating the ashrefy as before, at fifteen rupees, this would make the value of each diam £150,000 sterling, which multiplied by twelve will give the enormous sum of £1,800,000.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JAHANGUEIR.

To HIM whose name is inscribed at the head of all that has existence; the aracters of whose glory are stamped on the walls and portals of the universe: the Eternal Designer, who with a word, from the bosom of nothing, brought th the celestial spheres and the elements of created nature: to the Omnipo-nt Architect, who spread above us the alternate vaults of the firmament, d arrayed this globe of earth with the splendours of his might: to Him endless praise and illimitable gratitude; and on our prophet Mahommed, at most excellent of created beings, who released mankind from the mazes of ror, and conducted them to the high road of truth and duty, be countless essings: to whom was given, from God, authority over all terrestrial power, and er all other prophets the pre-eminence; the Messiah himself bearing the lad tidings of his approach; of his approach at whose lamp the great legislator f Israel, the God-spoken prophet, sought to secure a spark of heavenly light.

For a memorial of sundry events incidental to myself, I have undertaken to escribe a small portion, in order that some traces thereof may be preserved on he records of time.

On Thursday, then, the eighth of the latter month of Jummaudy, of the year of the Hidjera one thousand and fourteen,* at the metropolis of Agrah, and in the forenoon of the day, being then arrived at the age of thirty-eight, I became Emperor, and under auspices the most felicitous, took my seat on the throne of my wishes. Let it not produce a smile that I should have set my heart on the delusions of this world. Am I greater than Solomon, who placed his pillow upon

* Corresponding with the 10th of October, A.D. 1605. According to some authorities, the Emperor Akbar died on Wednesday the 10th of the latter Jummaudy, A.H. 1014, corresponding with the 12th of October, A.D. 1605; which would make the accession of Jahangueir to have preceded the death of his father by two days.

N.B. In this work the Arabic or Persian letter خ is expressed by *kh*, as in *Khaun*, *Shei*
The letter ج in the beginning of a word is generally expressed by *J*, as in *Jummaudy*, *Jag*
other parts of a word by *dj*, as *Hidjerah*, *Adjmeir*, or by the simple *j*, as in *Punjaub*, *Khanje*.
The letter غ is represented by *gh*, as *Chirâgh*, *Afghan*: the Arabic ث by *th*, as in *Thaun*
long ا generally by *au*, as in *Khaun*, *Zauhed*, *Bauz*, &c. The ي at the beginning of a word by
in *Yaheya*; in other parts generally by *ei*, as *Peishkesh*, *Seleim*, *Parveiz*, &c. At the beginning
word و is expressed by *V*, as in *Vezzeir*; in other places by *w*, as *Diwan*; or by *ou*, as in
Nour, &c. To express the Persian letter گ before ي *guei* or *gui* are used, as in *Jehang*
Jaguir, &c.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Tre Persian Manuscript which has furnished materials for this ork not being distinguished by any particular title, the Translator ould have ventured to style it the واقعات جهانگیری, Wakiaati Jahanguiri, to bestow on it some other name equally signifying "Incidents in the Reign of the Emperor Jahangueir." But to supply an Oriental me from mere conjecture seemed unnecessary, as the contents uld be indicated with sufficient accuracy in an English title-page.

Besides, from some extracts, occupying about seventeen pages in e "Asiatick Miscellany" (printed at Calcutta 1785-1786, vol. ii., p. 71-173) it would appear to be the same, or nearly the same, with at work which was described by an accomplished Orientalist, who anslated those passages (James Anderson, Esq.) as the "Toozuk e Jehangeery (تزوک جهانگیری), or Memoirs of Jehangeer written by himself, and containing a History of the Transactions of the First thirteen years of his Reign." But Mr. Anderson did not profess to give more than a few extracts from the Toozuk; and a comparison of these with the present work, will show that he must have occasionally omitted whole pages between certain facts recorded in both.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE EMPEROR JAHANGUEIR,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF;

AND

TRANSLATED FROM A PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT,

BY

MAJOR DAVID PRICE,

Of the Bombay Army; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; of the Oriental Translation Committee; and of the Royal Society of Literature.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION COMMITTEE,
AND SOLD BY
MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET; PARBURY, ALLEN, & CO., LEADENHALL STREET;
AND HOWELL & STEWART, HOLBORN.

1829.

Editor's Note

A version of Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or the Memoirs of Jahangir named Tarikh-i-Salim-Shahi translated by David Price and produced by Oriental Translation Committee, London in 1829, has been declared by historians, among them Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, a Fabrication composed during Shahjahan's period. It is being reproduced to test the audacity as to how long it could stand on its own in face of the authentic word.

The Price-version tallies with the text of a Khuda Bakhsh manuscript entitled Tarikh-i-Saleem Shahi. It would be interesting to analyse the contents of the Fabrication and compare it with the accepted versions marking major and minor additions, commissions and/or omissions. The obvious points of exaggeration and of boring details, have already been noted by scholars. Leaving this dimension aside, it would be worthwhile to look into the real contents, the factual part, and to compare it with the standerd version.

We have yet another manuscript which is one of the prized possessions of the Khuda Bakhsh Library. It is the Three-Years version. During a successful campaign against the Golkunda king, the manuscript was acquired by Md. Sultan, the son of Aurangzeb, as a war booty. The date of Deccan campaign led by Md. Sultan against the Golkunda king is 1656. Md. Sultan died in 1676

The covering page of the manuscript carries the following legend to the above effect:

"این کتاب جهانگیرنامه را حضرت جنت مکانی خود تصنیف نموده اند در دارالفتح حیدرآباد
از کتابخانهٔ قطب الملک گرفته شد۔ حررهٔ محمد سلطان۔"

However, what is more interesting is the colophon which reads as follows:

"بتاریخ یوم الاربعا سلخ ذوالحجه ۱۰۲۹ه در دارالسلطنت حیدرآباد صینت عن کل شر و فساد برسم
خزانهٔ کتب اعلیٰ حضرت السلطان العادل الکامل افتخار السلاطین فی الزمان واشرف الخواقین فی الدوران
السلطان ابن السلطان السلطان الخاقان ابن الخاقان الخاقان لا زال رایات دولت منصوره واعلام
حضرة منصوره بید الفقیر محمد مومن مشهور به عرب شیرازی تحت تحریر یافت۔"

It would bear some fruits if yet another comparison is made with this version of the Tuzuk dated 1029 A.H.= 1619-20 A.D. copied eight years before the death of the royal author.

— *A. R. Bedar*

MEMOIRS OF JAHANGIR

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Printers : Liberty Art Press, New Delhi and Patna Litho Press, Patna.
Publisher : Mahboob Husain for Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna (Phone 50109
Editor : Dr. A. R. Bedar

Annual subscription : Rs. 60-00 (Inland), 12-00 Dollars (Asian countries) 24 Dollars (other countries) Rs. 15-00 per copy.

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